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An Island of Success in a Sea of Failure?
The MDGs and Sauri Millennium Village in Kenya

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Abstract

For a number of decades, foreign aid-supported poverty reduction and development concepts, and policies and programmes developed by development agencies and experts implemented since the 1950s, have produced limited short-term and sometimes contradictory results in Kenya. In response to this problem in 2000, the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was in many respects a tremendous achievement, gaining unprecedented international support. The MDGs model has since become the policy of choice to reduce poverty and hunger in developing countries by half between 2000 and 2015, being implemented by the Millennium Village Project (MVP) 'Big-Push' model, seemingly designed as a 'bottom-up' approach.

Poverty reduction and sustainable development are key priorities for the Kenyan government and the Kenya Vision 2030 blueprint project. The MDGs process, enacted as the Millennium Village Project (MVP) in Kenya for poverty reduction, is now at the centre of intense debate within Kenya. It is widely recognised that foreign aid maintained MVP and sustainable development through the UN and local efforts, especially in their present form, have largely failed to address poverty in Kenya. Furthermore, not enough was known about the achievements of the MVP model in real-world situations when the MVP model interventions were applied in the Sauri village.

The aim of this thesis was to learn from the Sauri Millennium Village implementations in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health programmes. They are all inter-related and could assist in developing a more comprehensive and practical strategy for the Kenya Vision 2030 blue print for poverty reduction in Kenya. Further, it was most important to know whether the MVP approach worked before the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and Kenya Vision 2030 committed significant funds in replicating the MVP development framework in eight other villages in Kenya.

This research examined the case of Sauri using ethnographic mixed methods involving qualitative semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants to explore the impact of the MVP. The specific focus was on the processes employed in implementing the MVP approach, and its effects and outcomes, having regard for the MDGs paradigm's truth claims about poverty and poverty reduction in Sauri, the voices of the villagers, and an understanding of the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by, the MVP.

The major findings indicated that the MVP to some extent had empowered Sauri villagers in agricultural and non-agriculture, education and health programmes with significant foreign aid funding. At the same time some challenges emerged, due in the main to a lack of understanding of

the complexity of poverty, and the traditional structures at village levels where new MVP power structures were introduced. Further, the absence of a clear exit strategy in Sauri put the sustainability of the MVP in question, as well as the veracity of implementation of MDGs in other villages in Kenya, as stipulated in the Kenya Vision 2030. Such reservations made other future development programmes, potentially problematic.

As the current MDGs expire in 2015, this study contributes towards a richer understanding of the dimensions of poverty, sustainability and foreign aid from the villagers' perspectives, valuing their knowledge, priorities, and the outcomes of implementation of the SMV project. The thesis main contribution stems from presenting an account of how the villagers themselves assess and experience the interventions, and this constitutes a valuable addition to development debates. Similarly, the study adds valuable insight that the SMVP has replaced existing power structures and that it is thus - despite all its self-proclaimed descriptions as grassroots and bottom-up - another top-down development intervention. In addition, the study provides valuable lessons about the implications of time-bound short-term MVP development approaches with a strong focus on the end goal, recognising that insufficient attention has been paid to two main aspects of sustainability – namely, post-implementation administration and operational sustainability. The study adds value by including the voices of the villagers in the MVP agenda for poverty reduction, and in the end contributing to the MVP's re-evaluation and improvement, suitability and sustainability, at national levels and in the global debate regarding the shaping of the Sustainable Development Goals.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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None.

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Keywords

Poverty, Sustainability, Foreign aid, MDGs/ MVP, Kenya Vision 2030, Sauri Kenya.

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This thesis is dedicated to approximately 1.02 billion people
(One-sixth of humanity) living in poverty and hunger every day,
the majority about half a billion in sub-Saharan Africa.

Photo: Author

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Images

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Africa Development Bank
ANC	Ante Natal Clinic
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CHW	Community Health Worker
CREATE	Consortium for Research Education Access, Transition and Equity
DC	District Commissioner
DO	District Officer
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FPE	Free Primary Education
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITN	Insecticide-Treated Bed Nets
KDHS	Kenya Demographic Health Survey
KV2030	Kenya Vision 2030
LLITN	Long Lasting Insecticide Treatment Nets
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNH	Maternal and Newborn Health
MPND	Ministry of State for Planning National Development
MVP	Millennium Village Project
NERICA	New Rice for Africa
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
ODA	Overseas Development Aid
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PC	Provincial Commissioner
POCA	Prevention of Corruption Act
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessments
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
SACRED	Sustainable Agriculture Centre for Research and Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SMV	Sauri Millennium Village
SMVP	Sauri Millennium Village Project
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VIP	Ventilated Improved Pit latrines
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation

Glossary of Local Words used in the Thesis

Busuulu	Money
Duka	Small kiosk for selling basic goods
Envujjo	Harvest
Harambee	To 'work together'. Used as a call to collective action or working together, often associated public work or self-help groups
Jachwech	The moulder
Jua Kali	Informal/petty/businesses
Juok	Shadow
Kijij	Sub-location
Luo	[also called Jaluo and Joluo] predominant tribe in Sauri and Homa Bay
Mailo	Native freehold land
Majimbo	'Region' political devolution of power in Kenya
Mkoa	Province
Nyakalaga	The one who flows everywhere?
Nyayo	To follow 'footsteps' of the first Kenyan President, Jomo Kenyatta
Nyasaye	He who is begged
Ruot	King
Shambas	Fields
Tarafa	Division
Were	One certain to grant requests?
Wilaya	District
Wuon koth	The rain-giver

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

'Development' as a concept has evolved over the past fifty years, is inherently ambiguous and complex, and contested both theoretically and politically. During the course of the 20th century, and carry on into the 21st century, development endeavours have strived to increase national income, lift poor people out of poverty and improve their quality of life. Recently it has taken on the limited meaning of the practice of development agencies, especially in aiming to reduce poverty and attain the Millennium Development Goals (Thomas 2004, p. 2). The emphasis of development has shifted from simply economic growth to a more holistic development that encompasses the economic as well as the social and environmental aspects (Atkinson Dietz & Neumaye 2007; Bisley 2009). More recently, UNDP promoted the concept of 'sustainable human development' (SHD). Contrary to the World Bank's notion of development that measures progress mainly in economic growth or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) terms, SHD assesses development on the basis of what it calls the 'Human Development Index' (HDI) – a composite of indices that is composed of economic, social and environmental dimensions of progress (UNDP 1998).

A significant number of international actions, related to the concept of development have been carried out over the last fifty years or more to improve the standard of living of the poor in different parts of the world. While anticipating that the evolution of these challenges – propelled by various political, economic, legal, demographic, environmental, and technological factors – will be a complex task at best, it is clear that their individual and combined impacts will continue to shape development discourse to reduce poverty in developing countries, more specifically in Africa, warrants special and immediate actions in this continent.

As revealed in Table 1.1, the distribution of poor people (defined as those living on less than US$1.25 a day) across developing regions has changed significantly since 1981 when East Asia and the Pacific had the highest share of the number of the world's poor people. Now South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa have the highest shares. In 1981, East Asia (including China) and the Pacific accounted for 57% of extremely poor people in the world, yet over the ensuing 27 years; the region had reduced its global share of extremely poor people to about 21% by 2008. In contrast, the share of the world's extremely poor people increased in South Asia, from 29% in 1981 to 45% in 2008. The share of poor people in sub-Saharan Africa more than doubled over the same period, increasing from 11% in 1981 to 30% in 2008.

Table 1.1: Regional proportions of people in the world living on less than US$1.25 a day, 1981–2008 (percentage)

INCIDENCE OF POVERTY				
	1981	**1990**	**1999**	**2008**
East Asia and the Pacific	56.50	48.16	37.44	21.04
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	0.38	0.51	1.43	1.13
Latin America and the Caribbean	2.22	2.37	3.23	3.44
Middle East and Northern Africa	0.72	0.53	0.68	0.98
South Asia	28.91	31.94	34.72	43.74
Sub-Saharan Africa	11.27	16.49	22.50	29.67

Source: World Bank, Development Research Group (2009)

It seems that despite numerous efforts made by both national governments and donor agencies, the scourges of poverty, hunger, social deprivations and environmental decay continue unresolved largely, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Kenya. This realisation prompted the international community to examine the challenges of development, especially poverty alleviation, more carefully, and expressed their collective will to find solutions at the UN Millennium Summit of 2000 held at the UN Headquarters in New York. At this summit, 189 member states of the United Nations agreed to assign themselves a set of goals, namely the Millennium Development Goals[1] (MDGs), as the framework for future development (UNDP 2005).

The unique aspect of MDGs is that it made human development and sustainability, and not GDP, the main agenda for development and at the same time provided countries with tangible and time-bound (2000–2015) targets to implement and measure progress. Kenya adopted the MDGs with the aim to reduce lingering poverty in spite of Kenya's development initiatives over the last fifty years discussed in the next section.

1.2 Kenya's development initiatives

Over the last fifty years or more international donor countries have carried out various programmes to alleviate poverty and achieve sustainable development in Kenya, yet there is little to measure in terms of development (Hyden 2007). Such interventions have delivered

[1] Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit are composed of eight time bound and measurable goals.

mixed results, but ***poverty*** is still a widespread phenomenon, despite Kenya traditionally being a recipient of development programmes. Indeed, Kenya ranks 145th among 187 countries in the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index, which measures development in terms of life expectancy, educational attainment and standards of living (UNDP 2005a). According to the World Bank Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment Report 2008:

> In 2005/6, almost 47 percent – or 17 million – Kenyans were unable to meet the cost of buying the amount of calories sufficient to meet the recommend daily nutritional requirements and minimal non-food needs. The vast majority –14 million –live in rural areas. And many are very poor –indeed almost one out of every five could not meet the cost of this minimal food bundle even if they spend their entire budget on food (p. ii).

Nationally during the period 2005–2012, the Kenyan economy faced various shocks resulting in periods of high inflation and slow growth, the consequence being that overall poverty increased from 49% in 2005 to 55% in 2012. Throughout the period 2005–2012, rural poverty remained high and above urban poverty. The proportion of rural poor people in the total population of Kenya accounted for about 76.4% (World Bank 2009). In terms of the poverty gap, poor people in rural areas have on average, much lower incomes compared to the poverty line, and their income distribution does not seem to change much over the years as revealed in Table 1.2 (World Bank 2013). This means that the poor are becoming poorer. Therefore, poverty reduction has been one of the key sectors in development programmes. The fight against poverty remains a top policy priority on Kenya's development agenda. According to Kenya Vision 2030 (KV2030) (2007), the government is committed to the realisation of MDGs and elimination of poverty by 2030. However, Khan (2003, p. 2) cautions:

> the public policy processes concerning poverty begins with the way poverty is perceived, defined and prioritized in a society … that it is the Western schools of thoughts and approaches to "development" that mostly influence the strategies of poverty reduction in developing countries. Furthermore, the geo-politics of the day also influence how "development" in general and the strategy for poverty in particular, gets conceptualized, defined and implemented.

Table 1.2: Rural poverty, 2005–2012 (percentage)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Poverty Proportions	49.1	50.48	53.72	56.43	56.03	55.02	54.97	54.98
Poverty Depth	17.5	18.24	19.10	23.23	22.61	21.08	21.00	21.01
Poverty Severity	8.80	6.90	7.94	13.12	12.35	10.42	10.33	10.33

Poverty Depth is the distance of the average poor to the poverty line as a proportion of the poverty line

Poverty Severity is the degree of inequality among the poor

Source: Kenya Economic Report (2013)

Given the multidimensional nature of poverty, there is no single channel for reducing poverty. However, the ultimate goal is to reduce the number of people living in poverty that has been the goals of strategies developed and employed from colonial to post-colonial period in Kenya discussed in the 1.2.1.

1.2.1 Colonization, post-colonial legacies, development and poverty

The last 20 years of the nineteenth century saw the transition from control by powerful military influence and through economic dominance (informal imperialism) to that of direct rule in East Africa (Shillington 2005). British imperial administrator, Lord Lugard, formulated the doctrine of the 'double mandate': economic profit, but above all the responsibility to elevate the 'coloured races' to a higher level of 'civilisation'.[2] A Kenyan politician Karume (2009, p. 31) describes the relationship from the African perspective:

> Europeans used *power* and invaded the country [Kenya], made all the land their own and forced Africans to become servants [poverty-stricken] on what had been their own property. Indeed, local traditions revered land as being under the custody of ancestral spirits and for the purpose of economic sustenance.

Sachs (1992, p. 4) the innovator of the Millennium Village Project (MVP) states that due to colonisation 'traditions of sufficiency have been pushed aside, local exchange relations dissolved, collective forms of ownership broken up, and subsistence economies wiped out'. Balandier (1951, p. 75) describes colonisation as:

> Domination of an alien minority by *power*, asserting racial and cultural superiority, over a materially inferior native majority; that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life; and the imposition of the first civilization upon the second.

It was expected that with decolonisation, the colonial legacies of structural inequities and barriers to development would be removed and that development would be equal and sustainable.

Ochieng (2007) argues that the period between 1902 and 1920 witnessed the consolidation of colonial administration and power, triggering in its wake the unsteady beginnings of settler agriculture and the uncertain development and underdevelopment of Kenya's peasantry.[3] Figure 1.1 illustrates how most of the productive land in the central highlands of Kenya – also known as the 'White Highlands' – was taken from African farmers by force and given to British settlers. Africans then made to work for the settlers for nominal wages on land

[2] The US Development Act of 1929, still influenced by colonial frameworks stated that, 'development applied only to the first duty of the double mandate – the economic exploitation of resources such as land, minerals and wood products'; the second duty was defined as 'progress' or 'welfare'. At this time it was thought that only resources could be developed, not people or societies.

[3] The category of peasantry is inclusive of pastoralists.

formally owned by them. Kenyan scholar Thiong'o (2010, p. 80) provides an example of long-term adverse effects of colonial power production that need further discussion in order to understand poverty and development in villages:

> From 1902 onwards when Europeans stole our lands, they turned many of the original owners into poverty by force, or guile, or both. Then after the First World War, more Africans had their lands taken from them to make way for the soldier settlement. Then in 1941, even our men went to fight for them in the big war, Europeans started expelling already improvised squatters from their farms, displacement a second time. Then, three years later after the return of our soldiers from the Second World War, the colonial government decided to expel the residents, yet again, a third time.

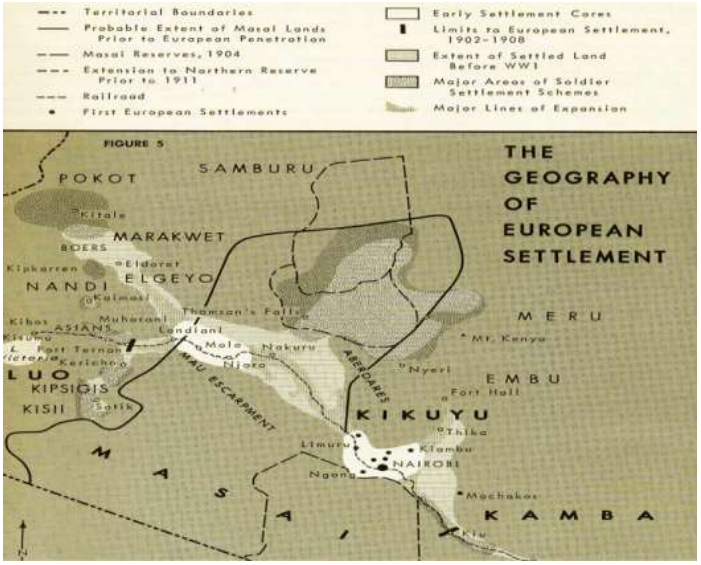

Figure 1.1: The geography of European settlement

Source: Soja 1968, p. 18

Towards the end of the 1950s, colonial rule was ending. In 1960, with negotiations for the independence of Kenya and pressures from the settler community rising, the Land Order-in-Council of 1960 was adopted. It provided for the conversion of native leaseholds into freeholds and for the acquisition of land in the Highlands by Africans through purchase on a 'willing buyer, willing seller basis'.[4] According to Leys (1994, p. 118) 'the original occupants and other persons in need of land could regain access to the White Highlands through purchase of land under such schemes or through purchase by the post-colonial state for resettlement and redistribution'. Leys further argued that the programme of land resettlement and redistribution was financed through a loan granted by the UK, the Colonial Development Corporation, West Germany and the WB (World Bank 2007, p. 120). Since most Africans were too impoverished to buy land, the majority of the people who were actually settled were not the dispossessed. Instead, a social category of prominent and rich Africans with stakes in the continuity of colonial property and political processes emerged, while millions of

[4] See Conversion of Lease Regulations, Legal Notice No. 631 and Conversion of Lease Rules, Legal Notice No. 632 of 1960.

Kenyans became landless squatters in their own country (Leys 1994). As a result as Ochieng (1989, pp. 83–84) asserts:

> the aspirations for the ordinary people as laid down in the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 entitled "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya" to close the gap between rich and poor and tackle poverty did not materialise.

Crowder (1987) hypothesises that hunger, poverty, land issues, corruption and persistent restrictions on civil liberties since independence in 1963 have all grown in intensity, and concludes that 'Kenyan independence has been an abysmal failure' (Crowder 1987, p. 10). According to Moyo (2009), as most foreign aid for development in Africa, including Kenya, – approximately US$2.0 trillion over the last 50 years – was given within this emerging framework of unequal power and asset sharing arrangements, mostly post-colonial legacies, it has done little to attain poverty reduction and sustainable development goals.

As outlined above, during colonisation, the colonisers usurped the best land and this contributed to the impoverishment of local communities. Subsequently, independence has little altered the colonial land tenure arrangements excepting in some cases, where appropriated and 'legalised' quality land was passed on from the colonial white settlers to the emerging local elites, thus simply maintaining and reinforcing structural inequities affecting Kenya's poverty alleviation and sustainability strategies.

1.2.2 Kenya's poverty alleviation strategies

Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 by Kenya, entitled 'African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya', was drawn up to close the gap between rich and poor through parity in regional development. However, Ochieng (1989, p. 204), in referring to post-colonial Africa as a whole, where Kenya is a part that demonstrated similar governance attributes, observes that 'the majority of the African Nationalist leaders who took over the running of the state from the British had already accepted, and were committed to, the bourgeois tenants of Western democracy and capitalist production'. Nevertheless, Ochieng qualifies this by adding that 'while the above observations were mostly valid, it should be recorded that the vice-president of Kenya African National Union (KANU) – was visibly distressed with wholesale acceptance of colonial economic structures'. Kenyan historian Ogot & Ochieng (1995, p. 84) reminds us that under colonialism 'the people of Kenya had no voice in government and the nation's human resources largely uneducated and poor, untrained and not benefitted by the growth of the economy under colonialism'.

Post-independence Kenya pursued development through a number of strategies and philosophies such as 'Harambee'[5] and 'Nyayo'[6] that made districts the main focus of development, the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) strategy, and the like. Later, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) of the World Bank and the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) initiatives also played an important part in Kenya's development. Currently, the KV2030 (2007) utilizes the importance of market and economic growth provides the basic framework of development. Each of these strategies was intended to alleviate poverty through engagement of people at the grassroots and organisations at the community level. These are briefly outlined in the following.

The District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD)

The DFRD policy was instituted in the 1980s to help expedite rural development by decentralising the development process from the central government (top-down) to the district and village level. The DFRD endeavoured to integrate each district's development needs with national development interventions in specific sectors such as infrastructure, health, and agriculture (Wallis 1990). Development committees were established at local, divisional, and district levels in order to facilitate local participation in the identification, design, implementation, and managing of projects. The village self-help groups were represented in the district development committees and were vital actors in the district development plans. The government also initiated a number of measures characteristic of structural adjustment programmes (SAP) targeting industry. By 1980, however, SAP had become a development framework of faith with the WB and the IMF as far as Third World economies were concerned. For Kenya, the new SAPs drive was made part of economic policy with the publication of Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986, 'Economic Management for Renewal Growth', which focused on the period from 1986 until the end of the century for 'a new phase of development and provision of basic needs' – a framework initiated by the World Bank.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP)

The PRSP were used in conjunction with national development plans to prioritise development in the 1990s (Ashley & Maxwell 2001). The PRSP are a conditional document that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund initiated to provide debt relief to developing countries with a large debt burden, including those from sub-Saharan Africa. The

[5] The 'Harambee' philosophy was the first national development strategy used for community empowerment and capacity building. It became a rural development strategy upon Kenya's independence in 1963.

[6] Upon Kenyatta's death, Daniel arap Moi ascended to the presidency in August 1978 and introduced the Nyayo (footsteps) era as the motto of his administration in Kenya. 'Footsteps' refer to following the national development policies of the first President.

primary goal of PRSP for Kenya is to achieve a broad-based, sustainable improvement in the standards of welfare of all Kenyans. This requires a concerted effort to tackle the intolerably high incidence of poverty that now afflicts about half the population. National development plans were implemented that included stipulations that required programs to be implemented in sector-specific areas such as agriculture, health and environmental conservation. Kenya was one of 32 countries required to implement PRSP in order to secure multilateral and bilateral funding (Swallow 2005). The PRSP consultation processes were not successful in bringing together macro-economic and poverty related issues. Although there was participation during the PRSP process at lower levels, the poor people participated more in the 10 districts where Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPA) were carried out. In other districts, government officials invited most participants and the very poor rarely participated.

In conclusion, the PRSP in Kenya had not been a sufficiently effective mechanism for the realisation of its objective of transforming the lives of the poor (Ministry of Finance and Planning, Kenya 2001). Moreover, because Kenya lacked a reasonable level of economic and political stability, wider government commitment and institutional capacity required to undertake the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of poverty reduction effectively, could not be provided with (Ministry of Finance and Planning, Kenya 2001). As a result, government failed to put in place the necessary legislative, administrative, financial and institutional mechanisms required to realise the desired objectives.

The Constituency Development Fund (CDF)

The CDF was established in 2003 through an act of parliament to fight poverty at the grassroots level through the implementation of community-based projects that have long-term effects of improving the people's economic well-being. The fund was created to oversee regional development efforts in poverty eradication by providing 2.5% of the total national revenue divided equally amongst the local parliamentary jurisdictions (constituencies). The Constituency Development Committee, sub-committees, and locational committees oversee and monitor all projects that are chosen by local communities. The CDF model has helped address specific local needs such as health, agriculture, education, electricity, water and sanitation (Bagaka 2008; Kimenyi 2005).

The CDF has had some success in addressing specific issues in rural Kenya but has not had the kind of national impact on poverty reduction as a sought after objective of the CDF (Bagaka 2008; Kimenyi 2005). More recently, the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERSEWC 2003) which outlined interventions and strategies for reducing poverty aimed at enhancing access to the benefits of economic growth by the most

disadvantaged members of the society formulated, culminating in the current blue – print, Kenya Vision 2030 (KV2030). Parallel to the adoption of KV2030 the inception of the MDGs and the introduction in Sauri of foreign aid supported Millennium Villages Project (MVP) the 'big push' theory to half poverty in Sauri by 2015, and designed as pilot action research programmes incorporating a bottom-up strategy.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the thesis

The overall goal of the MDGs in the SMVP was to halve extreme poverty between 2000 and 2015, and to achieve sustainable development by investing in the inter-related programmes of agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health in Sauri. Therefore, the overall aim of the study is to identify and analyse MVP interventions, at theoretical and practical levels, with a particular focus on the processes for implementing this approach, its effects and outcomes, the voices of the villagers, and understanding the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by the MVP. This overall aim of the study is to analyse the effectiveness of the MDGs, especially in the manner these have been formulated within the SMVP as practical tools in solving the problems of poverty reduction and sustainable development in Kenya. In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I briefly discuss the significance of the thesis, and outline the structure of the following chapters.

1.4 Significance of the thesis

The study of the MDGs model framework applied in the experimental MVP in Sauri can be a learning paradigm for the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and the KV2030, which has identified eight districts in which to replicate MVP. The MVP sites Bondo, Bungoma, Garissa, Kilifi, Meru South, Muranga, Siaya, Suba and Turkana (illustrated in Figure 1.2). These are all 'hunger hotspots', defined as those where at least 20% of children are malnourished and where severe poverty is endemic. Because of this, and ideally before the Ministry starts spending millions of dollars in the eight new villages with planned MDGs intervention, it is important to know whether the MVP strategy has worked in Sauri. For example, it is necessary to understand whether all the successes claimed have actually occurred in Sauri. This will assist an understanding of whether Sachs' micro, 'quick win', short-term interventionist approach is applicable to the eight new villages identified in KV2030 and are compatible with the KV2030 long-term macro-development plan to reduce poverty. This is important, because aid/development money is scarce, and the tens of millions already spent and programmed for other MVPs, are funds that will not be spent on the other priority projects stipulated in KV2030.

Figure 1.2: Location of Sauri and eight villages selected for MDGs interventions

Source: Author, based on Kenya Vision 2030.

The findings from this study will inform MVP policy formulation and practice, and the KV2030 development framework. As Stiglitz (1998) argued, this information is important in understanding the best way to utilise foreign assistance for development. Furthermore, because this study is the first of its kind the findings will yield very important breakthroughs at the empirical, conceptual, theoretical, and policy levels. This research will extend knowledge about the impact of donor programs [MVP] on community relations and perceptions [of the MDGs] (Stiglitz 1998). The current MDGs expire in 2015 this thesis may also contribute to the recently initiated global debate expected to shape the post 2015 MDGs.[7]

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organised into seven chapters:

- **Chapter 1** outlines background Kenya's broad development initiatives to address the problem of lingering poverty, the context of the research and research questions, description of the research aims and objectives the thesis, research questions, the significance of the thesis, and the structure of the thesis.

- **Chapter 2** introduces a background to Kenya Vision 2030 and the idea of Millennium Village project, and Sauri Millennium Village Project, the research site.

- **Chapter 3** presents a review of the literature and the conceptual framework of the study by reviewing definitions and theories of foreign aid, poverty and sustainability.

[7] In order to shape the post-2015 MDG and devise comprehensive strategies to tackle the remaining challenges of development, the UN with support from Civil Society coalitions including the Global Call to Action Against Poverty, CIVICUS and the Beyond 2015 Campaign, has already initiated a series of consultations both at national as well as at the international level (www.worldwewant2015.org).

The chapter critically reviews existing historical literature on foreign aid, foreign aid and development, agencies and challenges in development cooperation. Additionally the chapter reviews poverty theories and practices in contemporary literature as well as the dimensions and theories of sustainability. The review of literature described in this chapter provides the foundation for the theoretical framework of the thesis.

- **Chapter 4** outlines a methodology appropriate for the analysis of the issues related to the present study to capture the multifaceted context of the Sauri Millennium Village Project and for providing answers to the research questions. Qualitative data from the Sauri Millennium Village was generated through mixed methods research: 43 households, two focus group discussions (31 participants), 37 participant observations, 48 semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants, 45 informal interviews and conversations, and qualitative analysis of MVP, government/NGO documents. This thesis underscores the Sauri villagers' personal accounts to ground villagers' priorities in their lived experiences. This encompasses many ethical and political challenges inherent in cross-cultural research.

- **Chapter 5** – the Sauri Millennium Village, pre-MDGs and the Millennium Village Project. The first section explores the social networks operating in Sauri, past development and the concept of MVP at the time the research was being conducted pre-MDG intervention. The second section of this chapter is a discussion and critique of the MVP applied as the 'big push' model in the Sauri Millennium Village.

- **Chapter 6** – the Sauri Millennium Village Project: implementation, outcomes identified, and the analysis of MVP specific interventions in agriculture, education and health, based on the lived experiences of villagers in Sauri and their relevance to the research questions specific to SMVP. The findings of this chapter are discussed in Chapter 5 in the context of the literature review in Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

- **Chapter 7** outlines a discussion of the findings of the MVP implementation and the outcomes discussed in Chapter 6 within the context of literature reviewed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3. The findings in this chapter are based on fieldwork and lived experiences of villagers in Sauri and their relevance to the broad research questions, outlined in Chapter 1.

- **Chapter 8** integrates the various findings in the body of the thesis, synthesises the findings and lessons learnt in Chapters 6 and 7 reflecting the aims and objectives of the thesis, and draws conclusions. This includes the relevance of the SMVP for

strategizing KV2030 and the ‘big push’ theory of development and its relevance to tackling poverty in Kenya, noting any implications resulting from discussion of the topic as well as identifying implications for development practice more generally.

Fieldwork was undertaken over a period of eleven months in 2009 and 2010. This research examined the case of Sauri using ethnographic methods involving qualitative semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants to explore the impact of the MVP with specific focus on the processes of implementation of the MVP approach, its effects and outcomes. The methodology is elaborated in Chapter 4.

Chapter 1 has contextualised and justified the purpose and objective of the research. In the following Chapter 2, I provide background to the idea of Millennium Village Project, lingering poverty and a review of Kenya Vision 2030.

Chapter 2: LINGERING POVERTY – THE IDEA OF MILLENNIUM VILLAGE PROJECT AND KENYA VISION 2030

Chapter 1 contextualised and justified the purpose and objective of the research. The aim of this chapter is to provide a background of Millennium Development Goals and Millennium Villages Project, Sauri project site, a review of Kenya Vision 2030 and the research questions.

Despite remarkable achievements in economic development and the adoption of numerous poverty alleviation strategies over the past 30 years, poverty remains an unresolved issue in Kenya (International Fund for Agricultural Development 2008; McKinley 2007; Ministry of State for Planning and National Development 2008; Mosse 2005; Tarp 2006). For example, the incidence of poverty in Kenya has increased from 48% to 56% over the past 30 years (Kenya National Economic and Social Council 2012). According to the World Development Indicators (2010) at the present time, on a US$2.0 a day, 67.2% of the population are living below the poverty line income which is also below the median poverty line for developing countries as a whole (World Bank 2010). In this regard, Mosse (2005) believes that the development/poverty incongruities of Kenya are due mainly to the fact that:

> Western agencies and their policy advisors direct huge energy to re-framing development, discarding the signs of a colonial past or present-day commercial self-interest (tied to aid), finding new focus and political legitimacy in the international goal of reducing poverty, in the language of partnership and participation, citizens' rights and democracy. (Mosse 2005, p. 1)

It is in the backdrop of failures of past development strategies that, despite best of efforts, they failed to tackle the lingering problem of poverty; Kenya Vision 2030 for Macro-economic Growth (KV2030) was launched in 2006. The current KV2030 programme unveiled by the third president, Muai Kibaki, is Kenya's first all-inclusive long-term development blue print. Previously Kenya has had two long-term policies and several five-year development plans designed to guide planning and investment for development. The focus of KV2030 is to confront one of the country's most entrenched problems, namely poverty, by charting the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS), mainly for 2006–2007. ERS envisaged: restoration of economic growth within the context of a stable macro-economic environment; rehabilitation and expansion of infrastructure; equity and poverty reduction; and improving governance that included, among other things, ending the endemic culture of impunity, rampant corruption and poor service delivery. Poor governance and corruption in Kenya are blamed as a key causal factor of poor living standards among many a Kenyan (Shako & Odete 2009).

It is in the context of failures of past development strategies the 2006 Kenyan Government's all-inclusive long-term KV2030 development plan, the MDGs and MVP was launched in Sauri village. MVP, a bottom up planning process intended to tackle the issue of poverty in a more focused and intense manner (KV2030, p. 3). The aim of the MDGs and the MVP was to introduce pro-poor development interventions and achieve sustainable development by investing in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health programmes, which were all inter-related discussed in the section 2.1. The lessons learnt from MDGs and the MVP were expected to assist in replicating MVP in other villages in Kenya and developing a more comprehensive and practical strategy for the KV2030 strategy for poverty alleviation in Kenya.

2.1 Millennium Development Goals and the Millennium Village Project (MVP)

In September 2000, leaders from 189 nations agreed on a common vision for the future: a world with less poverty, hunger and disease, greater survival prospects for mothers and their infants, better educated children, equal opportunity for women and a healthier environment; a world in which developed and developing countries worked in partnership for the betterment of all. Their vision became manifest in the eight MDGs, which provided a framework for development planning for the developing countries around the world that also included time-bound targets by which progress could be measured:

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education;
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women;
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality;
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health;
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases;
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability;
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.

Thus, the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs that more directly targeted poverty and other social development issues came as a welcome shift in the development paradigm, with the expectation that this new framework may indeed succeed in breaking the shackles of poverty and assist in distributing the fruits of development more equitably, ethnically more non-discriminatorily and more sustainable.

In the context of the above an Africa-wide Millennium Village Project (MVP), a grass-roots experiment in development that envisaged a bottom-up approach in poverty alleviation, that aimed to empower villagers to enable them to decide their own priorities and control their own development, was undertaken. MVP envisaged among other things, that lessons learnt from the project would assist in finding suitable strategies to eradicate poverty and other social deprivations from the impoverished rural communities in sub-Saharan Africa by 2015 (Sanchez et al. 2007).

Kenya became one of several African countries engaged in the MVP. The work of the Kenyan MVP targeted two villages, namely Dertu and Sauri, and commenced in 2004. It was expected that lessons learnt from the Millennium villages would enable improved understanding of the impact of these types of interventions and thus contribute positively to the long-term sustainable development strategy of Kenya envisaged in KV2030.

The MVP sites were chosen from among various hunger hotspots in the country (where more than 20% of children under the age of five were underweight for age) and identified by the UN Millennium Project Hunger Task Force as representing the diverse agro-ecological zones and farming systems in Africa, as described by Dixon (2001) discussed in the next section.

2.1.1 The Millennium Village Clusters and their socio-economic, ecological and agricultural backdrops

The MVP operates in 80 villages organised in 14 clusters in Kenya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda (Figure 2.1). Eight clusters (Sauri, Kenya; Bonsaaso, Ghana; Mwandama, Malawi; Pampaida, Nigeria; Mbola, Tanzania; Tiby, Mali; Koraro, Ethiopia; and Potou, Senegal) were selected to illustrate the site-specific activities and achievements in increasing basic food production and other related interventions. Together they constituted 55 of the 80 Millennium Villages, with approximately 52,000 farming households and 310,000 people.

The villages were selected to represent the principal agro-ecological zones and farming systems of Africa that are also hunger hotspots. These villages have a strong community system, but lack the revenue for basic services necessary to sustain economic growth. Between 60% and 70% of the population, live on less than US$1 per day. The villages are characterised by high poverty levels and for years, there has been a high level of dependency on food aid. The vicious cycle of poverty is due to multiple problems including acute food shortages because of recurrent droughts, unreliable rainfall, and subsequent floods with outbreaks of pests and diseases, and isolation from markets. Malnutrition, high maternal and

child mortality, and illiteracy are rampant in the Millennium villages. The literacy rate for the communities is extremely low: 35–50% for males and 15–25% for females. Girls spend an average of four hours a day collecting water and firewood. Most villages suffer from severely degraded soil, high incidence of malaria and maternal mortality rates, lack of classrooms, unsafe drinking water, and extremely poor infrastructure.

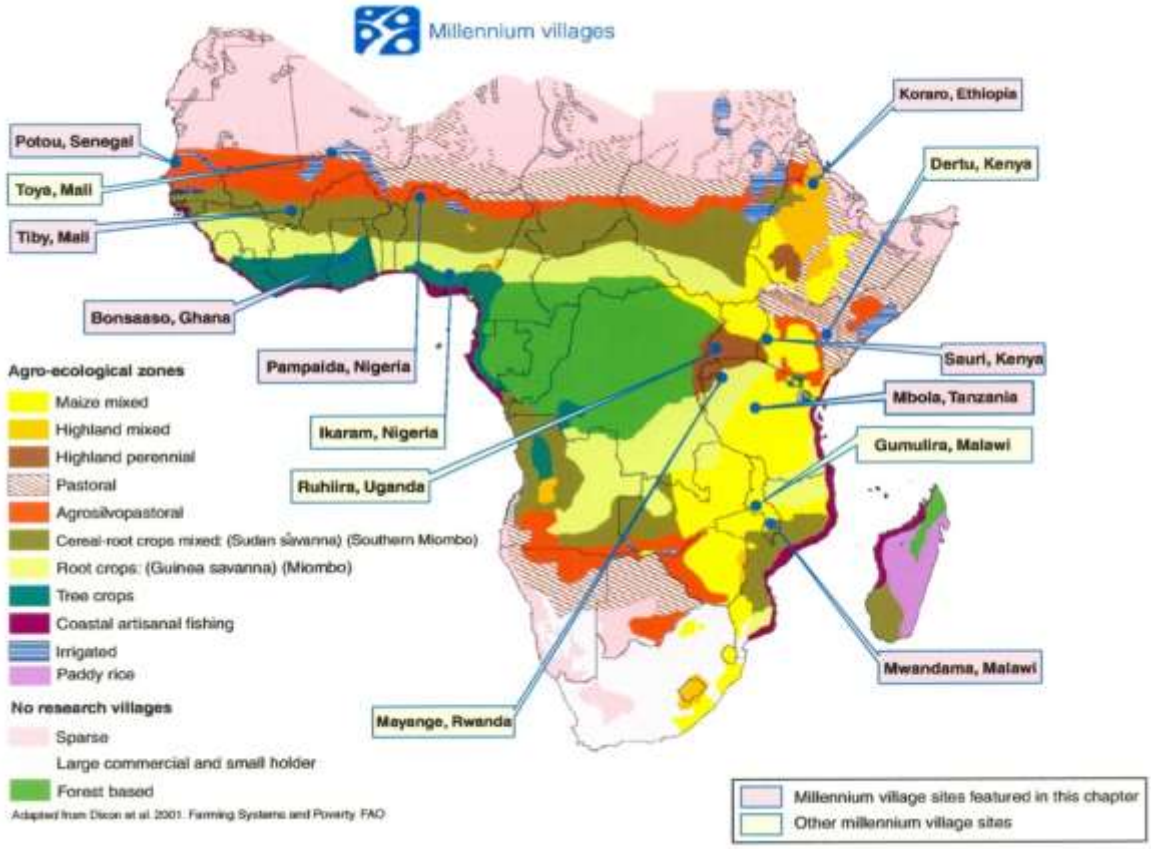

Figure 2.1: Location of Millennium Villages in sub-Saharan Africa

Source: Dixon (2001)

Water sources range from springs (protected and unprotected), shallow wells, piped water, and rainwater harvesting. Springs are not easily accessible to the majority: residents walk an average of 300m to a water source. Very steep slopes surround some springs, which makes accessing them a difficult task. Many homesteads have informal rainwater harvesting (RWH) systems with metal roof and gutters discharging into buckets or a metal drum. However, approximately 20% of homesteads have only grass-thatched roofs, which do not allow for RWH.

Table 2.1: Site characteristics of MVP villages, arranged in decreasing order of annual rainfall

Village cluster location	Farming system and AEZ[a]	Elevation (m)	Rainfall pattern and annual average (mm)	Length of major rainy season	Dominant soils	Population density (people per sq. km.	Major crops[b]
Sauri, Nyanza Province, Kenya. Dertu, North Eastern Province	Maize mixed, sub-humid tropical. Pastoral farming, semi-desert	1400 0	Bimodal, 1800 Unimodal, 350	March–August March–August	Rhodic Hapludox, clayey Sandy Haplustalfs (Dieri zone)	690 4	Maize, beans Millet
Bonsaaso, Ashanti Region, Ghana	Tree crops, humid tropical forest	210	Bimodal, 1333	April–July	Hapludult, Sandy loam	63	Cocoa, plantain, maize
Mwandama, Southern Region, Malawi	Cereal root-crops mixed, sub humid tropical	900–1200	Unimodal, 1139	November–April	Rhodustalfs, loamy to clayey	724	Maize
Pampaida, Kaduma State, Nigeria	Agrosilvopastoral, dry sub humid	615	Unimodal, 1050	June–November	Haplustalfs, sandy to loamy	138	Sorghum, maize
Mbola, Tabora region, Tanzania	Maize mixed, dry sub humid	1050	Unimodal, 928	November–April	Haplustalfs, sandy	40	Maize
Tiby, Segou region, Mali	Cereal root-crops mixed, semiarid	275	Unimodal 543	July–September	Structurally inert sandy Ustalfs	98	Millet, cowpea, flooded rice
Koraro, Tigray region, Ethiopia	Highland mixed, semiarid	1550–2000	Unimodal, 500	June–August	Calciustepts, sandy	63	Teff, sorghum, maize
Potou, Louga region, Senegal	Arid (pre-Saharan), coastal artesian fishing	1–30	Unimodal, 270	July–October	Torripsamments (Niayes zone), Sandy Haplustalfs (Dieri zone)	122	Onion, millet, groundnut

a: AEZ- Agro-Ecological Zone (Dixon. 2001). b: Grown by at least 50% of households.

Source: The African Green Revolution: Results from the Millennium Villages Project

Table 2.2: Selected characteristics of farming households in baseline thesis prior to start of the project

Village cluster	Number of households	Average number of persons per household	Average area cropped per household (ha)	Percentage households using fertilisers	Fertiliser N rate (kg N ha^{-1})	Fertiliser P rate (kg N ha^{-1})	Percentage of household using improved seed
Sauri	12,756	5.7	0.6	40	<10	≤5	2
Bonsaaso	4,164	5.2	4.9	0	<10	≤5	0
Mwandama	7,000	4	1.0	30	<30	≤5	20
Pampaida	952	6	3.4	77	<30	≤5	2.3
Mbola	6,610	5.6	3.4	39	<10	≤5	Nd[a]
Tiby	5,300	12.6	9.6	21	<30	≤5	80
Koraro	12,632	4.4	1.9	79	<10	≤15	2.7
Potou	2,245	9.7	1.4	90	103[b]	≤15	90

a: Not determined.

b: The rate is for the Niayes zone where vegetables are produced as cash crops and therefore benefiting from high fertilisers. The rate is much lower in the Dieri zone where millet, groundnuts, and cowpea are grown.

Source: The African Green Revolution: Results from the Millennium Villages Project

Farming systems and crops

The farming systems vary from tree crops in the humid tropical forest zone in Bonsaaso, Ghana to mixed maize farming in Sauri (Kenya), Mbola (Tanzania), Mwandama (Malawi), highland mixed systems in Koraro (Ethiopia), agro-pastoral systems in Pampaida (Nigeria) and Tiby (Mali), and coastal irrigated desert in Potou (Senegal). Farmers of Sauri, Mwandama, Pampaida, Mbola, and Koraro produce most of their food from cereal crops that have distinct planting and harvesting seasons. Maize constitutes the major staple crop in Sauri, Mbola, and Mwandama. Pampaida is dominated by sorghum (Sorghum bicolour) and livestock in the nomadic Fulani zone, but maize and upland rice (Oryza sativa) are also important. The major staple crop in Koraro is teff (Eragrotis teff), but a variety of cereals, finger millet (Eleusina coracana), sorghum, wheat (Triticum aestivum), barley (Hordeum vulgare), and maize are widely grown along with several grain legumes such as lentil (Lens esculenta). Cassava (Manihot esculenta) and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas) are grown in all but the two driest clusters. The three remaining sites have farming activities that occur at different times of the year. Potou comprises two zones, a coastal Niayes zone where fishing and irrigated onion (Allium cepa) production are the main activities conducted throughout the year, and a rainfed zone (Dieri) where pearl millet (Pennisetum glaucum), groundnut (Arachis hypogaea), and cowpea (Vigna unguiculata) are grown during a short rainy season. Bonsaaso relies primarily on a system of slash and burn where a few years of annual crops are followed by tree-based agro-forests, composed mainly of cacao (Theobroma cacao). Tiby has about half of its area in a large irrigated rice scheme, while the upland areas are planted to millet and cowpeas in the rainy season and to small-scale irrigated vegetable gardens.

Some form of agro-forestry, although not dominant, is present at all sites. These include improved fallows, tree hedges for livestock feed, as well as fuel wood, timber, and fruit trees. The average area cropped per household varies from about 0.6 ha in densely populated Sauri to five hectares or more in less-populated sites, such as Bonsaaso, Tiby, and Potou's upland area. Typical of the African context, the use of mineral fertiliser and improved seeds is low at all sites. The percentage of farmers using any mineral fertiliser was below 50% at five sites, with no use of fertiliser in Bonsaaso. In all sites, including those where the majority of households use fertilisers, the rate of nutrient application was very low, often less than 10 kg per hectare, five kilograms per acre, or one per crop. Most households apply whatever limited quantities of animal manure and compost they can collect. While more than 50% of households used improved seeds in Tiby and Potou, less than 3% of households used improved seeds at the other sites.

The circumstances described above indicate that MVP has been introduced in differing farming, ecological and demographic conditions implying that as far as farm-based income generating initiatives and their sustainability are concerned, each of the project sites needed to consider approaches that would suit local conditions.

2.2 The Sauri MVP: Project/Research site

As stated earlier, the project of the MVP is the invention of economist Jeffrey Sachs. The features common to all Millennium villages are that 'Each village is located in a reasonably well-governed and stable country and in a hunger hotspot, an area with the highest rates of rural poverty and hunger' (Millennium Promise 2006). For some, the MVP has come to embody hope for a new development endeavour that might succeed where former efforts have failed. A closer consideration of the MVP, however, suggests that Sachs's hope might have been misplaced. For example, descriptions of the MVP as a 'bottom-up' theory are questionable, given the project's reliance on pre-conceived definitions of the problems and pre-packaged solutions to address poverty and achieve sustainability at village level.

Sauri, the study village in Kenya, is the first of the twelve villages selected in sub-Saharan Africa, as part of the United Nations (UN) Millennium Project to implement MDGs-based development initiatives on an experimental basis (see Figure 1.2). The assumptions underlying the concept of a Millennium Village (Millennium Promise 2006, p. 3) include:

> Impoverished villages can transform themselves and meet the Millennium Development Goals if they are empowered with proven, powerful, practical technologies. By investing in health, food production, education, access to clean water, and essential infrastructure, these community-led interventions will enable impoverished villages to escape extreme poverty, something that currently confines over 1 billion people worldwide.

2.2.1 The Sauri Millennium Village

In March 2004, the MVP was conceived and the first village was launched in Sauri in December 2004[8] as a proof of the concept that the poverty trap can be overcome and the MDGs achieved by 2015 at the village-scale in rural Africa. This would be achieved by applying the United Nations Millennium Project's recommended interventions in multiple sectors at the investment level of $110 per capita per year sustained over a period of 5–10 years (Table 1.5). The main principles of the MVP (UN Millennium Project 2005) are:

[8] The first Millennium Villages were established in Sauri, Kenya, in December 2004, and in Koraro, Ethiopia, in February 2005, with additional villages in 2006, for a total of 12 located in Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, and Uganda (See Figure 1.2).

1. Science- and evidence-based, implementing technologies and practices that have already been proven;
2. Community-based, with a participatory approach to planning, implementation, and monitoring that contextualises the specific set of interventions for each village;
3. Enhanced by local capacity development in technical, managerial, and participatory skills;
4. Based on multi-sectoral and integrated interventions;
5. Geared toward gender equality and environmental sustainability;
6. Linked to district, national, and global strategies;
7. Supported by partnerships with other development groups;
8. Cost-shared by the community, government, and donors;
9. Supported by increased national-scale financing of public goods in line with increased official development assistance (ODA) made available to African governments.

Table 2.3: Recommended level of investment for rural African villages by the United Nations Millennium Project

Interventions	US$ per person per year	US$ per year per village of 5,000 people
Household share	10	50,000
Government share	30	150,000
Donor share	70	350,000
Total investment	110	550,000 Distributed by sector
Agriculture and nutrition	17	82,500
Health	33	165,000
Infrastructure (energy, transport, communications) (20%)	22	110,000
Education (20%)	22	110,000
Water, sanitation, environment (15%)	17	82,500

The MVP contributes $50 of the $70 donor share.

Source: UN Millennium Project (2005)

The Sauri Millennium Village Project (SMVP) strategy focuses on four interconnected challenges: agricultural productivity, public health, education, and infrastructure. The interventions are undertaken as a single integrated project; the synergies and trade-offs are assessed and highlighted before decisions are made. For example, higher food production has positive impacts on health and education but might also result in children missing school by

working on farms. Impacts of interventions on gender and the environment are sometimes less obvious but critical for long-term sustainability. Where adverse cross-sector trade-offs are possible, there must be guidelines, incentives, or disincentives to minimise them.

Not all interventions can start at the same time and are phased according to local conditions and priorities. The first phase (usually 12–18 months) involves the basics: food, health, water, and community empowerment. A generic list of interventions, which are localised for Sauri, follows:

1. Increased food production. Subsidised provision of improved seeds of high-yielding crop varieties or hybrids, the necessary amounts of mineral and organic fertilisers, and training in best agronomic practices to eliminate hunger months and generate crop surpluses.
2. Malaria control. Free distribution of long-lasting insecticide-impregnated bed nets (LLINs) for all sites, proceeded by training and followed by monitoring of use, combined with access to anti-malarial medicines, to drastically reduce the disease burden of malaria.
3. A functional clinic at the village level staffed by government and community health workers, to provide basic clinical services for infectious diseases, nutritional deficiencies, antenatal care, and attended normal delivery.
4. Safe drinking water points constructed with the eventual aim of having access within one kilometre of each household.
5. Community capacity building, to empower villagers to manage their own development more effectively; and to enhance the sustainability of interventions.

Another set of interventions follows, building on the first set.

1. More robust and diversified agriculture using nitrogen-fixing trees and cover crops, organic manures, crop rotations, soil conservation practices, livestock, aquaculture, small-scale water management, improved crop storage, and crop insurance.
2. Expanded health systems, including further malaria control through indoor residual spraying, particularly in epidemic areas; family planning; micronutrient supplementation for vulnerable groups; treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS and TB; and improvements in the nearby referral hospital, including emergency obstetrical care.
3. Functioning primary schools: universal enrolment in primary school, with adequate buildings, teachers, materials, separate latrines for girls and boys, drinking water, and a nutritious midday meal from locally produced food.

4. Improved clean water, sanitation and personal hygiene. Access to sufficient clean water for domestic consumption, pit latrines at home, and sanitary napkins for adolescent students.
5. Infrastructure: upgrading local roads and improving access roads, connecting to the electrical grid and the internet; transportation to markets.
6. Expanded links with government and other development partners: steering groups that coordinate local and district-level activities, planning, and cost-sharing.
7. Commercial farming and business development: diversifying farm enterprise toward high-value products and linking producer groups to markets. Enterprise development through capacity building, access to microfinance and microenterprise institutions.
8. Environmental rehabilitation: increasing tree cover, soil conservation structures, agro-biodiversity and carbon sequestration.

The SMVP aims to demonstrate the feasibility of practical economic transformation in rural Kenya through targeted multi-sectoral investments. This approach has similarities and differences with the integrated rural development (IRD) approach of the 1970s and 1980s. The main similarities are simultaneous, complementary interventions, which create synergies and a major initial focus on agricultural productivity, primary education and health (Rich 2010). According to Rich (2010) since 2004, US$2.75 million is being invested every year in the SMV project. Rich (2010, p. 1) writes:

> Never before has so much money been invested to alleviate poverty in an African community as small as Sauri. If Sauri succeeds, it could usher in a new era for development in Africa – but if Sauri fails, the West may become yet more disillusioned with development aid, and perhaps even reduce what it presently contributes. This is a defining moment in the development debate.

Therefore, one of the intentions of this study is to contribute to the development debate by providing timely analysis of the application of MDGs in Sauri. Furthermore, Columbia University established a new regional headquarters in Nairobi in 2013. The University hopes to scale-up the approach to other villages in Kenya with the KV2030 project and across much of sub-Saharan Africa with Jeffrey Sachs' 'big push' approach. Sachs' big push approach towards economic development argues that poor countries are caught in poverty traps and need large-scale interventions in terms of increased aid and investment to be able to increase their income (Easterly 2006; Sachs 2005). From this perspective, massive foreign aid is needed to break the vicious cycle of poverty, enhance productivity and induce self-sustained growth (Dollar & Easterly 1999; Easterly 2003; Ericson 2005; Sachs 2005; Sachs et al 2004). Is Sachs's big push approach different from similar approaches invented by Rosenstein-Rodan over 60 years ago? This approach lost credibility for about five decades, but made a comeback recently, coinciding with the launch of the MDGs agenda. Therefore, my case

study is important and valuable to test Sachs' big push 'grand theory' MVP model applied in Sauri. More importantly, is the model applicable for reducing poverty in villages in Kenya for long-term sustainable solutions, which is the focus of KV2030?

2.2.2 Foreign aid, Sauri and KV2030

Kenya is not foreign aid dependent. Only some 15 percent of Kenya's public expenditures are foreign-financed, compared to more than 40 percent in other East African countries (World Bank 2011). Foreign aid in Kenya has been a focus of critical examination and the object of debate. On the one hand, aid experts such as Peter Singer and Jeffrey Sachs advocate a huge increase in foreign aid and see enduring poverty as a direct by-product of the West's stinginess. Their message: aid works, only we do not provide enough of it. On the other hand, aid critics, such as William Easterly and Dambisa Moyo, claim that aid has actually stifled progress in poor countries by undermining the accountability link between aid-receiving governments and their citizens. Somewhere between those two extremes, aid practitioners argue that foreign aid could work if only it were executed right. Kenya has been exposed to a high degree of foreign aid volatility due to the "stop-and-go" behaviour of many donors. As foreign aid dependant Sauri Millennium Village Project (SMVP) end in 2015, would this "stop-and-go" approach be sustainable past 2015 that is one of the focuses of this study.

Vandermoortele (2007), the former United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) official who played a key role in designing the MDGs, claims that MDGs has been tremendously successful in galvanising political leaders, civil society organisations, the private sector and other donors. While evidence of poverty reduction has been established in countries like China and India, Alence (2004, p. 163), Mukui (2005), and Anyangwe and Mtonga (2007, p. 3) claim that no such empirically grounded evidence exists in Kenya to assess the trend objectively. Also even though the Millennium Project reports have consistently reported positive outcomes of all MVP projects (Millennium Promise 2012; Annual Report 2012) no independent study has been undertaken to the assess substantive achievements of the MDGs model applied in Sauri. As KV2030 hopes to replicate the Sauri circumstance in eight villages (see Figure 1.3) in Kenya, more research is needed to understand both the processes as well as the outcomes experienced in the Sauri project.

Existing studies, documentation, and publications about the MVP are primarily in the form of baseline studies and annual reports (Bourgignon et al. 2008; Konecky & Palm 2008; Annual Report 2006; Baseline Report 2007; Sachs 2005). However, these studies do not reveal much about the relationship between the macro-economic vision of KV2030 and the MVP's micro-approaches that is one of the focuses of this study.

The Sauri project that constitutes part of an overall strategy of in development mirrors the so-called big push theory of development (Culiuc & Walton 2007; Ellis 1961; Rosenstein-Rodan 1943). Several others, including Sachs, the founder of the MVP, also have a strong belief in the big push theory, especially in relation to Africa's development and argue that massive aid transfers and widespread reforms are important to Africa's development including poverty alleviation (Easterly 2006; Sachs 2005; Schabbel 2007). In the contexts of these thoughts and ideas that have also guided planning, budgeting and the implementation strategy of the Sauri Project, is a unique opportunity to see whether such a strategy is practical, sustainable, and thus replicable within the existing resource, absorptive and sustainability (post implementation operation and maintenance of project facilities and benefits) capacities of the country.

2.3 Summarising the context of Sauri Millennium Village Project (SMVP) and the research questions

Underpinning the theoretical and political backdrop of Kenya's development, Kenya Vision 2030 and the MDGs, are a number of influencing factors. These include the lingering problems of poverty in Kenyan and sustainable development, the inception of the MDGs and the introduction of foreign aid supported SMVP the 'big push' theory to half poverty in Sauri by 2015, and designed as pilot action research programmes incorporating a bottom-up strategy. These contributed to the lessons learned and the scaling-up process for other projects and the KV2030, and indeed the big push theory, which characterises development initiatives in Kenya.

With this background in mind, this study examines the following three broad, as well as five specific (specific to SMVP), research questions:

Broad research questions

(i) To what extent did the application of the broad framework of the Millennium Development Goals suit the conditions of the Sauri Millennium Village and address the lingering issues of poverty that risked equity and sustainability in villages?

(ii) To what extent are the lessons of SMVP relevant for strategising long-term sustainable solutions, which are also the focus of the Kenya Vision 2030?

(iii) To what extent is, foreign aid supported 'big push' theory of development that underpins the basis of SMVP, is relevant in tackling the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya.

Research questions specific to the SMVP

1. To what extent, if at all, does the Sauri Millennium Village Project address the institutional constraints of colonial legacies that consistently challenged equity and sustainability aspects of most development projects in Kenya, especially those supported by foreign aid?

2. To what extent, if at all, has the Sauri project factored in the structural and economic barriers that continue to challenge equitable and sustainable development in Kenya?

3. Has the implementation of SMVP reduced poverty and contributed to improving other productive, as well as social development, goals such as those related to agriculture, health and education and how environmentally sustainable are the interventions?

4. Are the existing capacities of local government and those of the community adequate to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered through the project?

5. What lessons, both positive and not so positive, have been learnt that would assist Kenya to formulate policies and strategies that contribute to achievement of the twin goals of poverty alleviation and sustainability more effectively as well as durably?

Chapter 1 contextualised and justified the purpose and objective of the research, a background to Kenya's development initiatives and Chapter 2 KV2030 and the idea of MVP main foundations of the literature concerning Kenya's development. The next chapter contextualises the research by means of a review of the existing literature of poverty theories and practices, theories of sustainability, and foreign aid to establish a theoretical framework for this research.

Chapter 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Many theories have been proposed to explain poverty and sustainability. Although the literature covers a wide variety of such theories, this review will focus on three major concepts that emerge repeatedly throughout the literature reviewed. These concepts are poverty, sustainability and most importantly foreign aid based SMVP interventions and not as an intervention from within. This chapter also engages in an extensive discussion of the history, the concepts and the experiences mainly to understand the opportunities and risks such a strategy entails. The chapter therefore, contextualises the research by means of a review of existing literature on poverty theories and practices, theories of sustainability, sustainability at local level and foreign aid to establish a theoretical framework for the study.

Section 3.1 of this chapter reviews poverty theories and practices in order to provide a general understanding of various epistemological perspectives on approaches to poverty reduction. The second section 3.2 of this chapter is an introduction and review of theories of sustainability and foreign aid. Section 3.3 is a review of foreign aid and major bilateral foreign aid agencies are classified in types in order to illustrate the heterogeneous strategies underlying foreign aid and challenges in foreign aid. In addition, the chapter discussed AOA theory to frame the study in Sauri and provide a bridge between paradigms to explain the research issues, research study and design, and fieldwork. Further, to investigate experiences of actors and see if foreign aid processes that underpin the basis of SMVP and/or tackle the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya are applying the basic principles of the AOA. The overview of theory and research literature provides an overall theoretical framework for the thesis.

3.1 Critical review of poverty theories and practices

Defining and measuring poverty are essential in formulating poverty reduction strategies. The sub-section is a discussion of poverty definitions and theories of poverty in contemporary literature from individual, cultural and structural perspectives for identification and analysis of poverty in Sauri.

3.1.1 Poverty definitions

Definitions of poverty are both contextual and conditioned by the ideological, epistemological and methodological orientation of the particular author concerned (Simon 1999). Similarly Hettne (1990) argues that there can be no fixed and final definition of poverty as this varies according to contexts which themselves change over time. Poverty, arguably, is a very

complex social problem with many variants and different roots, all of which have validity depending on the situation (Blank 2003; Martin 2003; Shaw 1996, p. 28). Therefore, depending on the context of the situation and the views of the persons conceptualising the phenomenon, definitions of poverty vary. 'Poverty' is a term that has been used pervasively in Europe and North America to describe the urban and rural impoverished. The first major thinker in economics to discuss poverty was Adam Smith, the 18th century proponent of wealth-creating capitalism. He proposed a conceptual definition of poverty as missing 'not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without' (Smith 1776, p. 23). Over 200 years ago, Adam Smith saw in poorness not just a problem of having access to the basic necessities to support one's life, but also a social handicap in terms of being able to follow the customs of a given society. In this sense poverty is about being able to follow the customs of a given society and country. On the other hand Austin (2006) argues that poverty is a cause of shame, social exclusion and psychic unrest, rather than an economic condition. The UN Statement of June 1998 – signed by the heads of all UN agencies defines poverty as:

> A denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation.

Economists and scholars use there are three main approaches to define poverty: people's income; their resources; and capabilities (Hicks 2004; Robeyns 2005). Income approaches, as used by the WB, construct assessments of world poverty using money metrics and define poverty as a failure to meet minimum nutrition or subsistence, reflected in indicators like GNP and income per capita. In the 1990s, the WB broadened its approach to include relative deprivation and a wider set of 'basic needs' (WB 1993; WB 1997). Resource approaches are based on three different accounts of resources: GNP per capita; individual disposable income; and individual entitlement to material goods (Robeyns 2005). These approaches, which were developed in the 1980s, contain several innovations: the incorporation of non-monetary aspects; a new interest in vulnerability; and a broadening of the concept of poverty to include livelihood, which was influenced by the Brundtland report (Maxwell 1999). The capability approach is based on the work of Sen (1976) and has been flourishing since 1976 (Hill 2003; Pressman & Summerfield 2002), particularly after the adoption of Sen's 'capability approach' in the first Human Development Report (1990) which identified a new development paradigm, namely the human development approach, as well as debates about how to

understand/measure poverty (Fukuda-Parr 2002). The dynamic concept of the capability approach provides opportunities for a country to adjust and define the dimensions of capability – which comprise economic, human, political, socio-cultural and protective capabilities (OECD 2001d) – according to its context-specific socio-economic and political environment. Khan (2003, p. 2) advocates that 'the definition of poverty and its perceived notion, especially at the policy level, is important for determining the size, the depth, the causes of, and, indeed, the solutions to poverty'.

The different perspectives among authors indicate different demarcations of the dimensions that cause poverty, evolving from predominantly economic views to those involving multidimensional concepts. However, each approach possesses distinct but complementary strengths to other approaches. Therefore, it is important to employ an integrated approach, by considering the advantages of each, and to focus poverty research, which ranges from policy making to direct intervention, on particular themes relevant to the specified country (Jerve et al. 2003). World Bank (2011, p. 7) defines poverty:

> As pronounced deprivation in well-being with many dimensions. It includes low incomes and the inability to acquire the basic goods and services necessary for survival with dignity. Poverty also encompasses low levels of health and education, poor access to clean water and sanitation, inadequate physical security, lack of voice, and insufficient capacity and opportunity to better one's life.

This tends to reinforce the earlier definition of poverty declared by the World Summit on Social Development, held in 1995 in Copenhagen (1995, p. 23):

> Absolute poverty as a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services. Overall poverty takes various forms, including lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life.

Thus, poverty is measured as either absolute or relative poverty (the latter being actually an index of income inequality). Absolute poverty refers to a set standard, which is consistent over time and between countries. The WB defines extreme poverty as living on less than US$1.25 per person, per day, and moderate poverty as living on less than US$2 or US$5 a day (WB 2007). It is worth noting that a person or family with access to subsistence resources, for example, subsistence farmers, may have a low cash income without a correspondingly low standard of living – they are not living 'on' their cash income but using it as a top up. The WB estimates that in 2001, 1.1 billion people had consumption levels below US$1 a day and 2.7 billion lived on less than US$2 a day (WB 2007). Moreover a dollar a day, in nations that do not use the US dollar as currency, does not translate to living a

day on the amount of local currency as determined by the exchange rate (Mukul 2007). Rather, it is determined by the purchasing power parity, which would look at how much local currency is needed to buy the same things that a dollar could buy in the United States (Mukul 2007). Usually, this would translate to less local currency than the exchange rate in poorer countries as the United States is a more expensive country (Mukul 2007).

Which of these perspectives best explains the nature of poverty? Khan (2003, p. 3) suggests: 'These differences in definition of poverty imply that approaches to poverty reduction must vary. But most governments tend to target the symptoms and not the root causes of poverty'. For the purpose and focus of this research, the definition applied by the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 will be applied. In short, all theories apply but some are more dynamic than others are. Although economic stagnation causes poverty, economic development does not necessarily lift everyone out of poverty equally. Human capital is important, but not all human capital investments are cost effective. Regardless of how we look at the 'science' of poverty, or what O'Connor calls the 'knowledge of poverty', it is essential to retain focus on the fact that the definition of poverty and the policies addressing it are all shaped by political biases and values:

> It is this disparity of status and interest that make poverty research an inescapably political act: it is an exercise of power, in this case of an educated elite to categorize, stigmatize, but above all to neutralize the poor and disadvantaged through analysis that obscures the political nature of social and economic inequality (O'Connor 2001, p. 12).

In this sense, political agendas are the overriding factors in poverty that not only influence the choice of theory of poverty but the very definition of poverty to be explained by each of the theories discussed in the next section. Powerful interests manage how poverty is discussed and what is being done about it.

3.1.2 Theories of poverty in contemporary literature

The contemporary literature of poverty consistently acknowledges different theories of poverty. The literature has categorised these theories in multiple ways (for example, compare Blank 2003; Goldsmith & Blakely 1992; Jennings & Kushnick 1999; Rodgers 2000; Schiller 1989; Shaw 1996). Almost all authors distinguish between theories that root the cause of poverty by focusing primarily on individualistic, cultural and structural or situational perspectives. Ryan (1976) addresses this contradiction in terms of 'blaming the victim'. Goldsmith and Blakely, for example distinguish 'Poverty as pathology' from 'poverty as incident or accident' and 'poverty as structure'. Schiller (1989, pp. 2–3) explains it in terms of 'flawed characters and restricted opportunity'. Jennings and Krushnik (1999) reviews a number of variants of these individual versus society conceptions, giving emphasis to racial

and political dynamics. Rank is very clear: ‘the focus on individual attributes as the cause of poverty is misplaced and misdirected (Rank 2004, p. 50). Structural failings of the economic, political, and social system are causes instead (Rank 2004).

Numerous models have emerged to enlighten and structure the discourse of poverty theories across the world. While these models have many concepts in common, they do not amount to a single coherent theory to explain poverty. Because of the complex nature of the individual, cultural and structural theories, the following section seeks to offer a critical analysis of the theories of poverty.

3.1.2.1 Individualistic perspective

The individualistic as well as the pathological theory justifies poverty because of the characteristics that are in-built in the individual, including the character of the person as well as his or her personal capabilities in life such as intelligence. That is to say, people are poor in life due their inability to contest with others for resources. As a result, they end up being trapped in poverty and its interconnected consequences. For example, people who are born with disabilities are constrained from competing for resources. This theory sees the cause of poverty as to some degree reflecting the circumstances into which an individual is born and cannot be subsequently altered, the person’s life being limited by the circumstances. Debatably, the theory fails to recognise the abilities of people who are born with disabilities to act in a way that can lift them out of their impoverishment. Incapacity will only result in poverty when the individual affected is unwilling to act to improve their situation (Egendorf 1999; Gwartney & McCaleb 1985).

Another interpretation of this theory that is related to pathology also sees poverty because of developed or acquired personality characteristics such as the character and actions of people. Some people are born with the character of being laidback and because of that, they are not eager to take part meaningfully in life and thus depend on others for support in life (Alcock 1993; Gwartney & McCaleb 1985). The decisions people make in life as well as their characters such as a tendency to indolence, will inevitably result in poverty. The individualistic and the pathological theories of poverty elucidate and hold accountable the individual for their poverty, but it fails to recognise that these factors in themselves cannot lead to poverty. Rather, they serve to establish casual links that may in effect initiate and encourage dynamics that can push the individual into poverty.

The idea of blaming the person for his or her own poverty based on morality is often considered as an ideology and is not applicable in helping to shape the discourse of poverty in

relation to development because it lacks evidence. The theory can also be criticised on the basis that people who might appear to have inherited the characteristics associated with poverty do not themselves become poor. The economic theory that the poor lack incentives for improving their own conditions is a recurrent theme in articles that blame the welfare system's generosity on the perpetuation of poverty. Economists Gwartney and McCaleb (1985) argue that the years of the war on poverty actually increased poverty among working age adults in spite of unprecedented increases in welfare expenditures. They conclude that 'the application of simple economic theory' (1985, p. 6) suggests that the problem lies in the war on poverty programs: 'They [foreign aid programs] have introduced a perverse incentive structure, one that penalizes self-improvement and protects individuals against the consequences of their own bad choices' (1985, p. 7).

This and similar arguments that cast the poor as a 'moral hazard' also hold that 'the problem of poverty continues to fester not because we are failing to do enough, but because we are doing too much that is counterproductive' (Gwartney & McCaleb 1985, p. 15). Their economic model would solve poverty by assuring that the penalty of poverty was great enough that none would choose it (and foreign aid would be restricted to the truly disabled or otherwise unable to work). However, from a community development perspective, addressing poverty by focusing on individual characteristics and bad choices raises fundamental conflicts in philosophy and in what is known to succeed. Thus, anti-poverty programs in community development tend to oppose strategies that punish or try to change individuals as a solution to poverty, though working with individual needs and abilities is a constant objective. This tension runs through all anti-poverty programs. While scientifically it is routine to dismiss the individual deficiency theory as an apology for social inequality (Fisher 1996), it is easy to see how it is embraced in anti-poverty policy, suggesting that penalties and incentives can change behaviour.

In conclusion, to the degree that policy makers or programme leaders hold the individual theory of poverty, it is increasingly unlikely that they will pursue a community development approach to solving poverty. Thus, in spite of the widespread societal view that individuals are responsible for their own poverty, community developers look to other theories of poverty for more positive approaches.

3.1.2.2 Cultural perspective

This theory suggests that poverty is created by the transmission over generations of a set of beliefs, values, and skills that are socially generated but individually held. Individuals are not necessarily to blame because they are victims of their dysfunctional subculture or culture. The

culture of poverty became a strong idea in the War on Poverty with the writings of Lewis and La Farge (1959) in their study of poor Latin American families in an effort to explain the similarities between lower class families in Mexico and Puerto Rico. The culture of poverty presumes that the poor have unique patterns of behaviour and priorities of values that distinguish them and the unique characteristics always cause them to be trapped by poverty. That is a set of values is transmitted inter-generationally through the process of socialisation and these values have become the subcultural determinants of the lower socio-economic status of the poor, leading to a vicious cycle of poverty from which only a few escape. An analysis of this theory for the explanation of poverty is very important in development because it helps us to know how culture influences development as culture is a constituent part of development.

What is useful for the analysis of this theory is that it gives an understanding of how poverty can be tackled by changing the values system and motivations in a given society. Accordingly, people are poor because their values are embedded in personality traits that were assimilated through the process of socialisation. In order to tackle poverty in such an environment, there is the need to change the entire values of the people and assist them to cultivate a new set of values and motivations. In spite of the usefulness of the culture of the poverty model, it also has some flaws in the sense that the application of the model was only limited to developing countries (Lewis & La Farge 1959). Oscar Lewis asserts that the culture of poverty is frequently likely to be found in developing economies. This assumption does not hold since poverty is also prevalent in developed countries as well. Poverty is a global phenomenon and therefore is not limited to Third World or developing countries alone but also some developed countries are still battling the issue of poverty. The theory also lacks evidence. For instance, Charles and Betty Lou Valentine in their study of low-income earners in America did not find any evidence of the existence of culture of poverty among the people.

3.1.2.3 Structural perspective

From the structural perspective, the poor manifest certain patterns of behaviour, which are not internally generated because of their unique values but are influenced by external factors because of their occupying an unfavourable position in a limiting social structure. That is to say, the poor behave differently not because they have internalised the dominant values, but because they do not have the opportunity to realise these values through the socially sanctioned opportunities. Blackwell (2005) suggests the life courses and chances the social forces and environments that surround them usually determine open to people. Economic development, labour market opportunities, educational facilities in a country provides a

framework in which the standards of living as well as the social relations of people are always created and recreated. The structures that are inherent in the society, including the organisation of social relations such as race, gender, class and power, determine the fate of people. In other words, it is the failure of the structures in the society that causes poverty among people.

To support the above argument, failures resulting from government policies and programmes can also result in poverty through cuts in government spending and welfare programmes as well as inadequacies and corruption in administration. For instance, the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) as a condition for loans and repayment by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in most developing countries resulted in cutbacks in vital social services, education and health, thus pushing more people in poverty (Colgan 2002; Welch 2000).

The structural theory sees poverty as resulting from capitalism because by definition capitalism exploits a large number of people. The people who own major corporations pay workers low wages in order to make more money for themselves. Corporations such as Gap and Nike have sweatshops in Third World countries and pay the workers less than two dollars a day; however, the workers make these corporations hundreds of dollars in product sales (Lichtig & Wilsey 2011; Wong 2013). In a capitalist economy, profit is the foremost motivation for production. A capitalist wage labour market produces poverty in order for it to operate efficiently through exploitation. A large number of the poor are usually not employed on a full-time basis. The use of capital-intensive methods of production such as the use of apparatuses and technology, also cause redundancy and as a result, the poor experience periodic unemployment, therefore creating a pool of surplus labour. This makes it possible for the capitalist to enjoy higher profits by reducing the wages of the labourers that may force people into poverty.

In order to explain the forces of poverty at work, there is the need to go beyond the level of the individual and community agents and focus on political action. MacGregor (1981), in his book 'Politics of Poverty', argued that policies to combat poverty are the products of political decisions. Poverty is seen as the result of political failure. Poverty is also seen as resulting from the preferences in the structure of the society in the form of social exclusion and disadvantage. These preferences usually tend to work against people such as those with learning disabilities, the disabled as well as older people, making them susceptible in the society. That is to say, susceptibility is a result of discrimination. In explaining poverty by the use of the structural approach, it helps to address factors in the society that perpetuates

poverty by not changing the poor themselves but rather changing the situation of the poor by means of modifying and limiting social structures that propagate poverty. An analysis of the individualistic, cultural and structural perspectives of poverty is very important to supporting efforts intended to reduce poverty in the sense that these perspectives provide a framework for policymakers in the field of development.

The structural aspect of poverty helps to address the issue of economic development, and development is taken as a poverty reduction strategy. Economic development is often perceived to lead to improvement in the living standards of people but an analysis of the structural perspective has revealed that it has rather pushed people into poverty through displacement of people and employment opportunities in a changing economy causing unemployment. Economic development is not a guarantee of human development. That is to say that, the promotion of economic development is sometimes affected at the expense of inequality. For development to promote equality, reduce poverty and create employment, it has to be an inclusive development rather than just economic development. According to the International Fund for Agriculture Development and International Labour Organization, (2010):

> Women still face persistent gender iniquities that limit their access to decent work, land, credit, a broad range of technologies, information, advisory services and training, and to farmers' organizations, workers' unions and community networks. In other words, women still lack access to vehicles for economic empowerment, social advancement, and political participation. For example, the report observes that that 90 percent of the wage gap between men and women in developed or developing countries is unexplained: and can be attributed to gender discrimination.

The conclusion to be drawn from the analysis of the theories of poverty, as far as development is concerned, is that the individualistic, cultural and structural theories strive to address the causes of poverty rather than finding practical solutions to the reduction of poverty. An analysis of the causal processes regarding poverty does not in itself help in its alleviation. However, it provides a framework within which poverty reduction strategies may be built; addressing poverty from different perspectives, and one's perspective of poverty determines the kind of strategies that may be used in alleviating it. Increasing the effectiveness of anti-poverty programs requires that those designing and implementing those programs need to not only develop adequate theories of poverty to guide programmes, but they must make sure that the poverty reduction approaches such as the MDGs are as comprehensive as possible. This raises the fundamental question: 'What is poverty?' Is it the deconstruction of so-called truths as well as the encouragement of engagement and reflexive action?

The overall goal of the MDGs in the SMVP was to halve extreme poverty of villagers living below US$1 per day between 2000 and 2015, and to achieve sustainable development by investing and creating economic opportunities in the inter-related programmes of agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health in Sauri. Therefore, the goal of the study is to identify and analyse MVP interventions at theoretical and practical levels to find out whether economic (income) aspects of poverty have changed between 2000 and 2015. The next section is a literature review of sustainability, a concept that has become a dominant discourse for poverty reduction since poverty reduction continues as the first priority of the development agenda of major international organizations, such as the World Bank, United Nations, UNDP and OECD (UN 2002).

3.2 Introduction and review of theories of sustainability

In recent times, research of poverty reduction by sustainable development has become more significant since poverty reduction continues to be the first priority of the development agenda of major international organizations. Given the different perspectives among authors discussed in in section 1.1.indicate different demarcations of the dimensions that cause poverty, which evolved from predominantly economic views to those involving multidimensional concepts. An understanding of sustainable development and defining dimensions of sustainability are vital in framing sustainability strategies. This sub-section describes sustainable development, definition, and dimensions of sustainability.

3.2.1. Sustainable development

There are many definitions of sustainable development, but the most widely used is sourced from the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), presented in 1987: ‘Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (WCED, 1987, p. 43). Many of these objectives may seem to conflict with each other in the short term. For example, industrial growth might conflict with preserving natural resources. Yet, in the long term, responsible use of natural resources now will help ensure that there are resources available for sustained industrial growth far into the future. Sustainable development is a road map, an action plan, for achieving sustainability in any activity that uses resources and where immediate and intergenerational replication is demanded. As such, sustainable development is the organising principle for sustaining finite resources necessary to provide for the needs of future generations of life on the planet.

Over the past few years, sustainable development has emerged as the latest development tag. Many non-governmental as well as governmental organisations all over the world have embraced it as the new paradigm of development. Taylor (1992, pp. 22–33) argues that sustainable development has become obscured by conflicting worldviews such as the 'expansionist' and the 'ecological', and risks being co-opted by individuals and institutions that perpetuate many aspects of the expansionist model. Equally Hecht and Sanders (2007, p. 2) question how sustainable developments can be achieved at a global level if we cannot monitor it in any single project?

Sustainable development has become the El Dorado of modern times, a vaguely charted dream of everlasting wealth pursued by the rich with too little concern for the poor (One World 2012). Sustainable development ties together concern for the carrying capacity of natural systems with the economic, environmental and social challenges facing humanity. As early as the 1970s, sustainability was employed to describe an economy 'in equilibrium with basic ecological support systems' (Stivers 1976, p. 187). However, the realisation of the notion of sustainable development has come under challenge, especially in its application in sub-Saharan Africa. The challenges include clear understanding of prevailing difficulties, community attitudes and dynamics, economic factors, the perceived constructive impact and circumstances that determine project sustainability. Community participation approaches alone cannot guarantee sustainable development (Getz & Jamal 1994). Sustainable development at village level may be more successful with the involvement of all the perceived beneficiaries maintained, cost recovery, continued support and a perception that the project is in their best interest to deliver high-quality services. It is with this local level of appreciation of sustainable development that I sought data to answer my research questions in the Sauri Millennium village.

3.2.2 Definition and dimensions of sustainability

'Sustainability' has become an ever-elusive term. The very word, emptied of meaning through overuse, increasingly dominates discourse in many contemporary disciplines. There is no universally agreed definition of what sustainability means. The term sustainability is broadly utilised in different disciplines. There are many different views regarding what it is and how it can be achieved. The idea of sustainability stems from the concept of sustainable development that became common language during the World's first Earth Summit in Rio in 1992. The concept of sustainable development was first coined in a document 'Our Common Future'

also known as the 'Brundtland Report'[9] in 1987. In its literal rudiments, sustainability means a capacity to maintain some entity, outcome, or process over time. In terms that are more general, James et al. (2013) describe sustainability as the endurance of systems and processes. Hamblin (1991) described sustainability as the ability of a system to maintain its productivity with little or no net decline over many decades, even if subjected to stress or perturbation.

There may be as many definitions of sustainability as there are groups trying to define it. All the definitions have to do with living within the limits; understanding the interconnections in the economy, society, and the environment; the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities (Sustainable Measures 2002). Different ways of defining sustainability are useful for different situations and different purposes. For example, the United Nations Millennium Declaration identified principles and treaties of sustainable development, including economic development, social development and environmental protection; and the circles of sustainability approach distinguishes the four domains of economic, ecological, political and cultural sustainability (Rio+20, 2012). This accord with the United Nations Agenda 21, which specifies culture as the fourth important dimension of sustainable development. Jerve et al. (2003) promoted three main aspects, namely the economic, social and environmental, as the focus of poverty reduction and project sustainability (Figure 3.1):

- access to natural resources, which include land, forests, water and clean environment;
- creating economic opportunities for the poor, such as employment; and
- ensuring access to social services such as health, education, and social security.

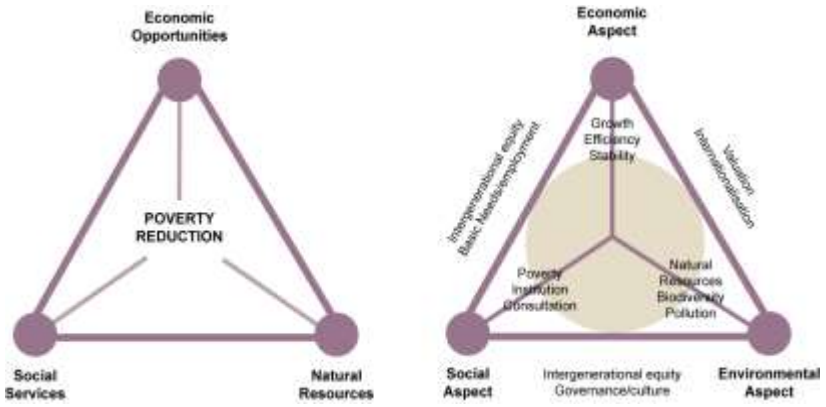

Figure 3.1: Three interrelated aspects of poverty reduction and project sustainablity

[9] The Brundtland Report's mission was to unite countries to pursue sustainable development together. The Chairman of the Commission, Gro Harlem Brundtland**,** was appointed by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, former Secretary General of the United Nations, in December 1983. At the time, the UN General Assembly realised that there was a heavy deterioration of the human environment and natural resources. To rally countries to work and pursue sustainable development together, the UN decided to establish the Brundtland Commission. The Brundtland Commission officially dissolved in December 1987 after releasing 'Our Common Future', also known as the Brundtland Report, in October 1987.

Source: Recreated and modified from Munasinghe and McNeely (1995) and Jerve et al. (2003)

While individuals can and should have their own points of reference and areas of interest regarding sustainability, a single project needs to have a broad, clear and well-defined concept of sustainability to guide implementation and serve as a basis for evaluation. There is a consensus concerning the evolution of the poverty reduction paradigm from economic-based development to sustainable development that integrates the economic, environmental and social dimensions [and the political] (Dunphy & Benveniste 2000; Healey 1997; Holling 1995; Munasinghe & McNeely 1995). Balancing those four dimensions (economic, social, environment and political) requires institutions that have the capacity to minimise the trade-offs between social, economic, and environmental objectives (Hinterberger & Luks 2001), which means focusing on all capital assets, distributive aspects, and the institutional framework for good governance. Good institutions, in particular the government, will facilitate progress towards sustainablity by producing responsive policy reforms, strategies and decisions (OECD 2002). In addition, Khan (2000) contends that the building of institutional capacity and stability, the encouragement of community participation and the equitable sharing and distribution of benefits is necessary for the continued operation and upkeep of projects. For the purposes of this study, sustainability can be considered through three different lenses: sustainability of outcomes, sustainability of processes, and sustainability of resources. This section now briefly considers each of these elements.

Sustainability of Outcomes: Simply put, this concerns whether the improvements in the quality of life or the standard of living of project beneficiaries will endure beyond the project completion. In the case of the SMVP, the anticipated impacts were the increased income and well-being of beneficiaries. Implied therein is the resilience of households in the face of shortages or poverty. Secondary outcomes were related to behaviours associated with health, hygiene, environmental conservation and market access, among others. An assessment of sustainability in this regard would measure the gains made due to the project, then predict the durability of those gains in the years following the project.

Sustainability of Process: A development project provides a set of direct and indirect services – its process – to beneficiary communities. Sustainability of the process depends on individuals and institutions continuing to provide those same services after the assistance and subsidies of a project end. More often than not, and certainly in the case of the SMVP, a project seeks and expects this type of sustainability, which depends on the viability of local institutions and their capacity and potential for survival and continued function.

Sustainability of Resources: This theme refers to the extent to which activities promoted by the project will be environmentally sustainable. Obviously lucrative activities in agriculture that gradually affect the environment upon which it depends, will not be sustained.

However, all the definitions of sustainability seem not to relate to a conceptual description of project sustainability. Post-implementation project sustainability has a much narrower connotation, which generally relates to its outputs and benefits of services involving its economic life (Khan, Western & Hossain 1992). For the purpose of this study a definition formulated by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) Strategic Framework (2009, p. 14) will be used: 'Ensuring that the institutions supported through projects and the benefits realised are maintained and continue after the end of the project'. IFAD's Office of Evaluation adds to this definition by considering resource flows. IFAD acknowledges that assessment of sustainability entails determining 'whether the results of the project will be sustained in the medium or even longer term without continued external assistance'. Sustainability is the power to prevail, to continue – the ability of a project to sustain its tasks, amenities and benefits during the period of its projected life. 'Perhaps the key issue here is to be vigilantly aware that as a concept and as a practice, sustainability is constantly running the danger of turning into a totalizing doctrine that subsumes critical thinking' (Pyola 2009, p. 5). Further, Mosse (2005, p. 10) suggests that:

> subordinate actors in development – tribal villagers, fieldworkers, office staff, even project managers and their bosses in relation to donors – create everyday spheres of action autonomous from the organising policy models, but at the same time work actively to sustain those same models – the dominant interpretations – because it is in their interest to do so.

3.3 A review of foreign aid

Given the situation described in sections 3.2 concerning sustainability of foreign aid projects supported at local level, this section provides a background and definition of foreign aid, historical development of foreign aid, a discussion of foreign aid and development and finally a review of types of bilateral aid agencies and challenges in development cooperation.

3.3.1 Background and definition of foreign aid

In international relations, foreign aid (also known as international aid, overseas aid, development aid, or project aid) – refers to the transfer of capital, goods, or services from one country to another (Radelet 2006). Foreign aid may be given in the form of capital transfers or technical assistance and training for either civilian or military purposes. Its use in the contemporary era began in the 18th century, when Prussia subsidised some of its allies (Radelet 2006).

After World War II, foreign aid evolved into a more highly developed instrument of foreign policy. International organisations, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, were created to provide aid to war-ravaged countries and newly freed colonies especially in Africa. Foreign aid is often given with conditions attached, such as the requirement that all or part of it be used to buy goods from the donor country. For technical purposes, the concept of foreign aid often used is the Official[10] Development Assistance (ODA). According to the OECD (2005b), ODA is defined as those grants[11] or loans to developing countries and territories contained in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) List of Aid Recipients. These are: a) undertaken by the official sector, b) where promotion of economic development and welfare is the main objective and, if a loan provided on concessionary financial terms, having a grant element of at least 25%. Technical Co-operation[12] is also included in aid, in addition to financial flows. By convention, ODA[13] flows comprise contributions of donor government agencies to the governments of developing countries, an arrangement that is termed bilateral ODA, as well as to multilateral institutions.[14]

Since the understanding of foreign aid envisaged by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) is both holistic and comprehensive, it is considered appropriate to cite it here:

> Development cooperation can contribute implementing democracy, creating equality or eliminating poverty through creating the conditions for sustainable development by supporting 1) peace and stability; 2) democratic political conditions; 3) institutional conditions e.g. efficient public administration, active civil society, and a sound legal system; 4) economic conditions; 5) physical conditions e.g. construction and maintenance of infrastructures; 6) human conditions, i.e. education, public health, human rights; and 7) environmental conditions. (SIDA 1997, pp. 18–19)

Terms that are frequently used, such as foreign aid, development assistance, and development aid can be both misleading and express prejudice since they symbolise a unilateral view of humanitarian intervention. In reality, official wealth transfers are not unilateral since they may imply economic and political control mechanisms, principally based on agreements between

[10] The term 'official' makes clear that the reference is to government-led development interventions but excludes non-governmental interventions.
[11] Transfers made in cash, goods or services where repayment is not implied or required.
[12] Technical cooperation includes both grants to nationals of aid-recipient countries undergoing education or training at home or abroad, and payments to consultants, or similar personnel.
[13] The World Bank has introduced a new cooperation measure known as Effective Development Assistance (EDA), which provides a more accurate measure of real cooperation flows than the traditional ODA measure. EDA is the sum of grants and the grant equivalent of official loans, and aims to measure the pure transfer of resources. EDA is defined as the grant equivalents of all development flows in any given period. Grants tied to technical assistance are excluded from EDA.
[14] These are the international institutions with governmental membership, where a significant proportion of their activities are dedicated to development. They include e.g. multilateral development banks, United Nations agencies, and regional groupings (such as certain European Union and Arab agencies).

governments on both sides of the transfer. More specifically, on the side of the donor, these transfers might be regarded as an important tool for exercising economic influence over the recipient government, for example with regard to national strategies. From the side of the recipient, the official wealth transfers might imply issues concerning political/economic sovereignty as well as coordination with the 'international accordance' (OECD 2005).

However, Närman (1999) argues that in reality, terms such as aid, assistance, and cooperation refer to similar interventions, even though each may also be used with some specific normative connotations. Degrees and forms of conditionality, as well as different types of bilateral relationship, differ from case to case, and from cooperation based on 'partnership' to neo-colonial assistance. Since it is not possible to usefully generalise development interventions or define them as a fixed concept, they should be understood rather as a complex and changing concept reflecting an evolving development discourse. For example, the European Commission regards foreign aid in terms of a broader framework: political, security, scientific, cultural and economic (Orbie, Van Elsuwege and Bossuyt 2014).

A similar argument may be made with regard to the terms 'South' and 'Third World' which are generally used to refer to countries whose governments have requested and received official aid from wealthier countries. In this study, the relatively simple terms 'developing countries' is used when reference is being made to the group of countries whose governments receive foreign aid. Although other terms such as 'partner government' or 'partner country' are increasingly prevalent in official documents and reports, these terms have been avoided, as there is ambiguity regarding which side of a partnership they signify.

3.3.2 Historical development of foreign aid

Foreign aid appeared as a form of political and economic force in the 1950s, in the context of decolonisation and the Cold War. Beginning with the Marshall Plan in the late 1940s, a proposal was put forward by President Truman of the US for a new programme of technical assistance to less developed countries. Calling for international solidarity with the aim of supporting, from a humanitarian perspective, the self-support efforts of 'the least fortunate' of the world against 'human oppressors, hunger, misery and despair' (speech by Truman, quoted in full in Lumsdaine 1993, pp. 221–222). Truman's proposal won firm support from the international community (Orbie, Van Elsuwege and Bossuyt 2014). Within the next three years a number of actions were set in motion, including development lending on the part of

the World Bank[15] in 1949 and 1950, the Colombo Plan[16] for South Asian countries from 1950 and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA)[17] of the United Nations.

Lumsdaine and Norbeck (1997), analyses explanatory factors behind the relatively rapid expansion of foreign aid, where international humanitarian and civic considerations were combined with economic and political self-interest of donor states,[18] in the context of the emergence of new nations after de-colonisation, with increased demands for self-determination and support for human dignity. Based on an historical and comparative analysis of international relations, Lumsdaine (1993) focuses on the time factor, and argues that the articulation of new humanitarian aid programmes was launched at an opportune moment as the international climate had become sufficiently prepared for this reaction since developing values of liberal internationalism had been maturing for the prior half century. Three factors – decolonisation, new policy and the general international climate – accorded well with the values of commitment to an egalitarian and humane society within a peaceful international order (Grant & Nijman 1998).

Further institutionalisation of foreign aid took place from the late 1950s until early 1970s, including the establishment of the International Finance Corporation (IFC) as an affiliate of the World Bank, the founding of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). In addition, with the proclamation of the 1960s as the Development Decade, International Development Association (IDA) as a soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank, the establishment of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1961 and the subsequent setting up of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD were created. Throughout the rest of the 1960s and up until the late 1970s, organisational expansions took place while foreign aid funding through multilateral organisations and the proliferation of multilateral programmes increased significantly, such as the establishment of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the African Development Bank in 1964,

[15] The World Bank shifted its lending from European reconstruction to development loans for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

[16] The Colombo Plan is an international economic organisation created in a cooperative attempt to strengthen the economic and social development of Southeast Asian and the Pacific countries, mainly through technical assistance. It was formally launched in 1951 under the title, the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia (source: The Columbia Encyclopaedia, 2005).

[17] EPTA provided advisory services, expert assistance, fellowships and equipment. The year 1959 saw the creation of the UN Special Fund, which supported large-scale pre-investment projects and was intended to enhance the efforts of the EPTA. In 1965, the two programmes were merged, leading to the establishment of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

[18] Similarly, Grant and Nijman (1998) argue that the motives of donors can be explained by combinations of various factors, such as geo-politics or geo-strategy (Lebovic 1988; Orr 1990), economics (Hook 1995), special relationships and regional clustering (Holdar 1993; McKinalay & Little 1978) and humanitarianism (Lumsdaine 1993).

the Asian Development Bank in 1966, the African Development Fund in 1972, the Asian Development Fund in 1974, and so on (Lumsdaine 1993).

Foreign aid was utilised as a powerful strategic tool in the polarised world of the Cold War, through which it was used to implement the foreign policies of donor countries, with the exception of France, Sweden and the Netherlands, who had adopted independent foreign policies from the bi-polarised foreign policies under the Cold War structure. During the 1970s and 1980s, while the interest of the United States in foreign aid was cooling, other OECD countries began to increase their commitment to aid, especially after the end of the Cold War, when there was an even more significant increase in their involvement (Lumsdaine 1993).

The 1980s are recalled as a particularly disastrous period for many LDCs, with extensive drought and famine, especially in Africa, HIV/AIDS abruptly emerged and rapidly became widespread. World commodity prices declined by almost one half, bringing about a collapse of the economies of LDCs and the flow of aid money was nowhere near enough to recover from the negative growth rate (Cars 2006; Odora-Hoppers 1998). Furthermore, the IMF withdrew money from Africa for several years, in accordance with the then current monetarist theories, while the USA and UK raised their domestic interest rates and cut back the level of aid. It was in this context that, by 1980, the 'Basic Needs' approach was being re-emphasised whereby the poverty alleviation aspect was added to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs).[19] Nevertheless, the consequences included an underestimation of the importance of the role of the state and the political and socio-cultural effects of intervention being overlooked. As financial crises deepened, more emphasis was placed on SAPs and less on basic needs (Goldthorpe 1996). Many subsequent studies have revealed that the most devastating effects of SAPs were on basic health services and education systems (Chew & Denmark 1996; Goldthorpe 1996; Odora-Hoppers 1998). At the same time, France and Japan increased the quality and quantity of their foreign aid, Japan eventually becoming the largest single aid donor by the end of the 1980s and Norway, Finland and Italy also substantially increased their funding (Cars, 2006).

Lumsdaine and Norbeck (1997), when analysing the history of changing international relations in political and economic contexts, conclude that international humanitarian and civic considerations have been the major driving forces behind the struggle to maintain foreign aid, in the face of contrary pressures from global economic conditions, and resisting

[19] The intention of SAPs was to encourage a liberal market-oriented approach, including cutbacks to local government expenditure, currency devaluation, reductions in subsidies for staple goods, removal of import quotas, tariff reductions, reforms of interest rate policy, revision of agricultural prices, reductions in the powers of state marketing boards and the privatisation of state-owned enterprises (Chew & Denmark 1996, p. 6).

the alternative policy of reducing both the quality and quantity of aid. The 1990s were regarded as a decade where universal humanism was promoted as part of a search for a new world order after the collapse of the polarised world. Many global conferences were held under the auspices of the United Nations during this decade in an effort to promote commitments to sustainable human social, economic and environmental development.[20] All these international efforts and commitments constituted a development discourse, or 'sustainable global development' discourse (SIDA, 2004, 2005), in various forms, along multiple dimensions and at multiple levels. The agenda was elaborated in the 2000 UN Millennium Declaration, which included commitments to peace, security and disarmament, development and poverty reduction, sustainable environment, human rights, democracy and good governance, protection for the most vulnerable groups, as well as paying particular attention to the special needs of Africa.

In conclusion, the international discourse on foreign aid brought about a significantly increased emphasis on both improved effectiveness of foreign aid and poverty reduction as a strategy for holistic and sustainable development. There can be no doubt that throughout the 1990s and up to the present time, significant international efforts to improve foreign aid have been applied. There has been greater focus, with the World Bank taking the lead, on the effectiveness of foreign aid delivery, part of which are efforts to harmonise practices of the foreign aid agencies. Sector-wide approaches have been implemented for poverty reduction, education and health (Odiwuor 2000; Odora-Hoppers 1998). A poverty reduction strategy was spelled out in 2000, with quantitative objectives to be attained in the form of the MDGs. This is important because the agriculture, education and health sectors have always been a central issue in the context of poverty reduction foreign aid funded projects discussed in the next sub-section.

[20] Major UN conferences between 1990 and 2005 include: World Summit for Children (New York City, Sept. 1990), UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro June 1992), Human Rights Conference (Vienna, June 1993), World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction (Yokohama, May 1994), World Symposium on Trade Efficiency, (Columbus, Ohio Oct. 1994), Global Conference on Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (Barbados Apr. 1994), International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo Sept. 1994), World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen March 1995), Conference on Straddling and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks (New York City Sept. 1995), Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing Sept. 1995), Second UN Conference on Human Settlement Habitat II (City Summit) (Istanbul June 1996), World Food Summit (Rome Nov. 1996), Millennium Summit (New York, Sept. 2000), World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg 2002), International Conference on Financing and Development (Monterrey 2002), High Level Forum on Aid Harmonization (Rome 2003), Second International Roundtable on Managing for Development Results (Marrakech 2004) and High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Paris 2005).

3.3.3 Foreign aid and development

The most common type of foreign aid is assistance given to promote development and to combat poverty (Perkins, Radelet & Lindauer 2006). For the most part foreign aid is designed to meet one or more of four broad economic and development objectives:

(i) to stimulate economic growth through building infrastructure, supporting productive sectors such as agriculture, or bringing in new ideas and technologies;

(ii) to strengthen education, health, environmental, or political systems;

(iii) to support subsistence consumption of food and other commodities, especially during relief operations or humanitarian crises; and

(iv) to help stabilise an economy following economic shocks (Radelet 2006).

Despite these broader objectives for foreign aid, economic development has always been the main benchmark used to judge foreign aid's effectiveness, with more foreign aid expected to lead to faster development (Perkins, Radelet & Lindauer 2006). However, at a very broad level, there is no apparent simple relationship between foreign aid and development. Some countries (Uganda, Vietnam, Ghana and China) that have received large amounts of foreign aid have recorded rapid development, while others (Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria) have recorded slow or even negative development. At the same time, some countries that have received very little foreign aid have done very well, while others have not (Perkins, Radelet & Lindauer 2006).

What does the absence of a simple relationship mean? For some observers, it is evidence of a failure of foreign aid to achieve its basic objectives. Nevertheless, for others this simple correlation is misleading, since other factors affect both foreign aid and development. Some countries that have received large amounts of foreign aid may face endemic disease or poor geography, or may be emerging from long-standing civil conflict, in which case foreign aid might have a positive impact on development even if the overall development performance remains weak (Perkins, Radelet & Lindauer 2006). On the other hand, the causality could run in the opposite direction: donors give more foreign aid to countries with slow development rates, and much less to rapid growers like China. These analysts suggest that once these other factors are taken into consideration, a positive relationship emerges. Still others conclude that foreign aid works well under certain circumstances, but fails in others. Foreign aid might help spur development in countries with reasonably good economic policies, but might fail to do so where corruption is rife [for example, Kenya] and the economy is badly mismanaged (Perkins,

Radelet & Lindauer 2006). In this view, while the overall trend line is important, the variance around the trend and the reasons for those variances are also critical in understanding the true underlying relationships.

Debate on these issues has been ongoing for many years, and continues today. Controversies about foreign aid effectiveness go back decades. There is general agreement on some broad issues. Even foreign aid pessimists (at least most of them) agree that foreign aid has been successful in some countries such as in Botswana or Indonesia, or more recently in Mozambique and Tanzania. That foreign aid has helped improve health by supplying essential medicines, and that foreign aid is an important vehicle in providing emergency relief following natural disasters (Radelet 2004; Sachs 2004; Stern 2002; Stiglitz 2002). Similarly, foreign aid optimists concede that much foreign aid has been wasted or pilfered, such as by the Marcos regime in the Philippines and the Duvalier regime in Haiti (Bauer 1972; Easterly 2001; Hansen, Henrik & Tarp 2000). US Senator Jesse Helms, on 11 January 2001, stated: 'I have long opposed foreign aid programs that have lined the pockets of corrupt dictators, while funding the salaries of a growing, bloated bureaucracy. (Radelet 2006, p. 5)

Debate continues on the overall trends in foreign aid; the conditions under which foreign aid is effective or ineffectual; the steps that could be taken to ensure foreign aid is more effective. Empirical evidence is mixed, with different studies reaching different conclusions depending on the period, countries involved, and assumptions underlying the research. Broad views have emerged regarding the relationship between foreign aid and development.

Foreign aid generally has a positive relationship with development across countries (although not in every country), but with diminishing returns as the volume of foreign aid increases. Foreign aid might prompt development through three key channels. The classic view is that foreign aid augments saving, finances investment, and adds to the capital stock (Sachs, et. al. 2004). In this view, the poorest countries may be stuck in a poverty trap (see Sachs 2006) in which their income is too low to generate the savings necessary to initiate the process of sustained development (Sachs, et. al. 2004). A related argument is that foreign aid might help relax a foreign exchange constraint in countries that earn relatively little foreign exchange, a view that was popularised through the early 'two-gap' models of economic development. Second, foreign aid might increase worker productivity through investments in health or education. Third, foreign aid could provide a conduit for the transfer of technology or knowledge from rich countries to poor countries by paying for capital goods imports, through technical assistance, or through direct transfer of technologies such as the introduction of new seeds and fertilisers in the Green Revolution.

Several early studies found a positive relationship between foreign aid and development (e.g. Levy 1988; Papenek 1973), but this strand of the literature took a significant turn in the mid-1990s when researchers began to investigate whether foreign aid might support development with diminishing returns. These studies have received much less public attention than those that have found a zero or conditional relationship, but since the mid-1990s, the majority of published research on the topic has found a positive relationship either by allowing for diminishing returns, or by testing for conditional relationships. These studies conclude that foreign aid has not always worked in delivering desired project outcomes in every country.

Foreign aid also could have a positive impact on development outcomes other than in areas such as health, education, or the environment. Perhaps the best documented area is health, where foreign aid-supported programs have contributed to the eradication of small pox, the near-eradication of polio, control of river blindness and other diseases, the distribution of oral rehydration tablets to combat diarrhoea, and the dramatic increase in immunisation rates in developing countries since 1970 (Levine et. al. 2004). Undoubtedly, much foreign aid aimed at health has also been squandered. Nevertheless, beyond specific case studies, there is little systematic evidence regarding the relationship between foreign aid and health, education, income distribution, or other outcomes.

Foreign aid has no effect on development, and may actually undermine development. Peter Bauer (1995) was perhaps the most outspoken proponent of this view (e.g. Crush 1995; Escobar 1995; Ferguson 1994; Marc 1999; Moyo 2009; Rahnema 1992; Wolfgang 1992), although he never provided systematic empirical evidence to support his argument. Many later empirical studies did reach the conclusion of no relationship between foreign aid and development. These researchers have suggested a variety of reasons why foreign aid might not support development. First, foreign aid simply could be wasted, such as on limousines or presidential palaces, or it could encourage corruption, not just in foreign aid programs but more broadly (see Adam 2005; Bulir & Lane 2002; Rajan & Subramanian 2005). Second, foreign aid may help keep allegedly corrupt governments in power, thus helping to perpetuate poor economic policies and postpone reform. Some argue that foreign aid provided to countries in the midst of war might inadvertently help finance and perpetuate the conflict, and add to instability. Third, countries may have limited absorptive capacity to use foreign aid flows effectively if they have relatively few skilled workers, weak infrastructure or constrained delivery systems. Fourth, foreign aid flows can reduce domestic saving, both private savings (through its impact on interest rates) and government savings. Fifth, foreign aid flows could undermine private sector incentives for investment and or to improve productivity (Burnside & Dollar 2004; Collier & Dehn 2001).

Many analysts have argued that donor practices strongly influence foreign aid effectiveness. For example, multilateral foreign aid might be more effective than bilateral foreign aid, and 'untied' foreign aid is thought to have higher returns than 'tied' foreign aid. Many observers argue that donors that have large bureaucracies, do not coordinate with other donors, or have poor monitoring and evaluation systems that undermine the effectiveness of their own programs (Radelet 2003). Two influential and overlapping views argue that foreign aid would be more effective if there were greater 'country ownership' or broader 'participation' among government and community groups in recipient countries in setting priorities and designing programs (Clemens, Radelet & Bhavnani 2004). There has been substantial debate about these issues, and in some cases, these ideas have begun to change donor practices. But to date there has been very little systematic research connecting specific donor practices to foreign aid effectiveness.

In brief, the view that foreign aid works better (or in a stronger version, foreign aid works only) in countries with good policies and institutions, has become the conventional wisdom among donors. This viewpoint reflects the findings of the present research and the experience of development practitioners. The appeal of this approach is that it can explain why foreign aid seems to have supported development in some 'well-behaving' countries but not others. The concept feeds directly into the World Bank's Performance Based Allocation (PBA) system for distributing concessional International Development Association (IDA) funds, and was the foundation for the United States' new Millennium Challenge Account (Radelet 2003). On the other hand, different bilateral aid agencies experience their own challenges in development cooperation.

3.3.4 Categories of bilateral foreign aid agencies and challenges in development cooperation

Different kinds of foreign aid might affect development in different ways. Clemens, Radelet, and Bhavnani (2004) disaggregated foreign aid into types most likely and least likely to affect development within a few years, if at all. They separated foreign aid into three categories, namely geo-political strategy, humanitarian ideology and economic strategy (Yamatani 1994). The first category is concerned with the geo-political strategies and interests of each country, typically seen in American foreign aid. During the Cold War period, foreign aid was used as a political means of winning and maintaining allied countries lined up against the Soviet Union. In the case of the UK, the flows of foreign aid cover over 130 countries, where most weight is in favour of both Commonwealth countries and other countries of diplomatic significance. In the case of France, those countries that are former colonies are the main partners, with

additional resources for the promotion of French culture and language added to normal foreign aid objectives.

The second category of guiding principle is based on humanitarian ideology, grounded on perspectives of basic human needs and rights. It is most clearly characterised by the Nordic countries, which display 'well-intended humanitarianism on moral grounds' (Närman 1999, p. 87). Here there are attempts to channel solidarity and resources to partner countries in order to support their sustainable self-development. For these countries, disbursements of foreign aid as a proportion of their Gross National Income (GNI) exceed the official targets of 0.7% set by the UN. The key objective of Norwegian foreign aid is to reduce poverty in the very poorest countries where half of their foreign aid budget is channelled through multilateral organisations such as the UN and the World Bank, indicating a preference for such multilateral cooperation. The foreign aid of Nordic countries is a new way of implementing poverty reduction strategies, aid harmonization and so on, while always entailing a distinct humanitarian character (Grant & Nijman 1998).

Finally, the third category of guiding principle is based on the economic strategies and interests of each country concerned, a good example being Japanese cooperation, most of which consists of non-grant loans[21] (Yamatani 1994). Japan considers that economic growth is the main driving force for development (not unique to Japan) and therefore actively promotes regional economic co-operation agreements and free trade agreements, which are expected to eventually be mutually beneficial to both Japan and its partners. Revised ODA Charter of 2003, states that the ultimate objective for Japanese ODA is 'to contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity' (Japan's ODA Charter, 2003, cited in OECD 2003b, p. 16). However, there is always a risk that strong adherence to narrower national interests may over-ride the general principle of development, namely to benefit the developing countries (OECD 2003b).

The three main guiding principles have been identified as useful for characterising major foreign aid agencies. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this is a relative characterisation and that these are by no means the only principles that might guide any particular agency. Naturally, for each country, a complex of guiding principles may be identified, including, in various degrees, components such as political interests, humanitarian ideology and economic strategy, which are then reflected in the unique set of principles of each foreign aid agency. Any particular complex of components may also change over time; for example, being

[21] The proportion of loans represented 55% of total bilateral ODA in 2002. The motivation for Japan's focus on loans is mostly due to her own experience of having received credit from the World Bank for her own post-war reconstruction (OECD 2003b).

influenced by shifts in national policy or changes in the international discourse on development. It is also important that careful attention be paid to geo-historical contexts when considering the complex of development principles identified in any particular country.

To summarise the foreign aid and development research, it appears that foreign aid has been successful in some countries but not others. The overall trend is a subject of debate, but most research has found a positive relationship. This research focus on SMVP is only beginning to scratch beneath the surface and investigate types of foreign aid most effective and the conditions under which foreign aid has the largest impact on sustainable development and poverty reduction. Since disputes continue about the determinants of economic development more broadly, perhaps it is not surprising that the foreign aid-development-poverty relationship challenge continues to be a matter of passionate debate discussed in 2.4.4.1.

3.3.4.1 Challenges in development cooperation

As pointed out in this section that the international community with the aim of improving foreign aid has made extensive efforts. As discussed in the previous section the mechanism of development cooperation is both complex and challenging, with dynamic multidirectional power relationships between, and overlapping, the macro, meso, and micro levels.

A challenge confronting foreign aid is the issue of coordination and harmonisation by different actors of overlapping interventions, where institutional measures have been undertaken, based on the framework in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005). In addition, the issue of lack of ownership on the part of developing countries, which is the other side of the coin of what is considered to be the excessive control on the part of foreign aid agencies, has also been addressed through improvements within the wider framework of the partnership discourse in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Yet a further challenge facing foreign aid is the dependency on donors created by foreign aid itself (Närman 1999; Roberts 2014) when increasing ‘aid dependency’ was brought to prominence during the 1980s, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Keo (2013) stated that the unfortunate truth, however, is foreign aid has often presented more challenges than opportunities to aid recipients. Conditionality, foreign aid has made it difficult for developing countries to disregard demands from donor countries, particularly with regard to the SAPs and therefore, the fiscal structure of developing countries has been modified in such a way that significant flows of foreign aid over decades have become a necessary component. This indicates the power structure around foreign aid. Bauer (1995) argues against the necessity of such ‘external donations’, claiming that economic achievement depends on ‘personal,

cultural, social and political factors, that is, people's own faculties, motivations, and mores, their institutions, and the policies of their rulers' (Bauer 1995: 363). To achieve this requires changes in attitude and strengthening of capacity in developing countries as well as in foreign agencies.

In conclusion, as discussed in this section, controversies about foreign aid date from decades before now. Critics such as Milton Friedman, Peter Bauer and William Easterly have directed stinging critiques, charging that foreign aid has enlarged government bureaucracies, perpetuated bad governments, enriched the elite in poor countries, or aid has been missed. They cite widespread poverty in Africa and South Asia despite three decades of foreign aid, and point to countries that have received substantial foreign aid yet have had ineffective records such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Papua New Guinea, and Somalia. In their eyes, foreign aid programs should be dramatically reformed, substantially curtailed, or eliminated altogether.

Supporters counter that these arguments, while partially correct, are overstated. Jeffrey Sachs, Joseph Stiglitz, Nicholas Stern and others have argued that although foreign aid has sometimes failed, it has supported poverty reduction and development in some countries. They believe that many of the weaknesses of foreign aid have more to do with donors than recipients, and point to a range of successful countries that have received significant foreign aid such as Botswana, Indonesia, Korea, and, more recently, Tanzania and Mozambique. Therefore, promoters of foreign aid argue for the 'Big Push' foreign aid model for the successful implementation of the MDGs and the MVP interventions.

The big push model is based on the assumption that the Third World is poor because it lacks the capital necessary for making income-generating investments. Mainstream economic literature suggests that aid can help developing countries by closing this financing gap that otherwise leaves them stuck in a 'poverty trap'. The big push argument portrays aid as the necessary catalyst for investment that would, in turn, lead to growth and presumably initialise an upward path to economic development (Schabbel 2007). This argument lost credibility for about five decades, but made a comeback recently, coinciding with the launch of the MDGs agenda.

The notion of the big push is one of the original ideas in development economics, coined by Rosenstein-Rodan over 60 years ago in the context of a classic work on the problem of the industrialisation of eastern and southeastern Europe (Culiuc & Walton 2007). The core argument is that coordination problems, in the context of increasing returns, create the possibility of multiple equilibria. A poor country can be caught in a low-equilibrium 'poverty

trap'; government intervention can potentially solve the coordination problem, and 'push' the economy into the better equilibrium state allowing a 'take-off' into sustained growth. The big push idea has returned to the centre of development policy in the recent past. William Easterly (2006) ascribed 2005 as the Year of the 'big push'. It has emerged in particular in the context of debates over Africa: the compelling normative case to transform development possibilities for Africans has been associated with renewed emphasis on the positive case for a big push. This has been linked to the case for a major expansion in aid, notably in the work of the Commission for Africa and the MDGs; Sachs has been a vigorous exponent of this linkage.

Sachs' big push argument portrays aid as the necessary catalyst for investment that would, in turn, lead to growth and presumably initialise an upward path to economic development (Schabbel 2007). This view of aid perhaps most famously encapsulated in Sachs' book 'The End of Poverty', in which he prescribes a comprehensive package of massive aid transfers and widespread reforms that aim to tackle multiple socio-economic pathologies quickly and simultaneously. Shock therapy of this sort, Sachs argues, can end extreme poverty for the world's 'bottom billion' by 2025 (Sachs 2005). A core aspect of the Millennium Villages is that the poverty-ending investments in agriculture, health, education, and infrastructure can be financed by foreign aid at US$250,000 per village per year. The overhead costs of managing the project in each village are US$50,000 per year. According to Sachs on a per-person basis, the total village cost of US$120 per person includes:

- $60 Donor funding through the Millennium Village program;
- $30 Local and national government funding (this is most likely to include funding for interventions themselves and the provision of agricultural and health extension workers in the villages);
- $20 Partner organisation funds (e.g. existing programs supported by official bilateral donors) and in-kind corporate giving (for example, Sumitomo Chemical Corporation agreed to donate insecticide-treated bed nets for the Millennium Villages); and
- $10 from Village members, typically through in-kind contributions of their time and expertise.

Documents recently made public by the UK government reveal the cost of poverty reduction in the MVP, a self-described 'solution to extreme poverty' in African villages created by Sachs. The project costs at least US$12,000 per household that it lifts from poverty – about 34 times the annual incomes of those households makes villagers even more aid dependent which highlights once again the importance of independent and transparent evaluation of MVP (Clemens 2012).

In conclusion the big push model of poverty reduction and sustainable development portrayed by Munasinghe and McNeely (1995) and Jerve et al. (2003), lacks a fundamental element of post-sustainability important for the poverty reduction projects and more specifically for the MVP. There is a need to safeguard the organisations being supported through foreign aid projects and ensure the benefits attained are maintained and continue after the end of the projects such as the SMVP. Moreover, whether the results of the projects will be sustained in the medium or even longer term, without continued external foreign aid (MVP) assistance is unclear. However, Khan (2000, p. 4) cautions that 'the issue of sustainability should also be seen within time and changing social, environmental, economic and political contexts' of foreign aid discussed in the next section.

Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 of this chapter summarised the broad underpinnings of the concepts of poverty, sustainability and foreign aid and the big push approach to understand the opportunities and risks such strategies entail while intervening in projects such as SMVP. It became clear from discussions in these sections, that it is very difficult to define the three interdependent concepts that are relevant to the research questions for explaining the meaning, nature, challenges and evaluation of the phenomenon being investigated.

Because of this identified shortcoming in the development approaches of the past, one of the main points of departure in this study will be an investigation into the applicability of a more actor-oriented approach, as mainly proposed by (Long 2001)**.** In essence, the very wide-reaching concept of the actor-oriented approach encompasses a variety of elements as building blocks of the process. One of the most important of these blocks, presenting a special focus on the human instead of the economic aspects of development, is social development. Therefore, in order to present a framework in which the rest of the thesis may be interpreted, the next section is devoted to the actor-oriented approach (the *leitmotif*), as explained and elaborated on by Norman Long (1990, 2001 & 2002).

3.4 Bringing Actor-Oriented Approach into context

Given the situation described in the previous section, there has been much talk in the academic development sphere of recent times, lamenting the difficulties in attaining project sustainability especially in developing countries, long after donors and funding structures are withdrawn from communities discussed in the previous section. Large numbers of projects that are implemented at gigantic costs often tend to have trouble with sustainability (Nghonyama 2011). All major donors, such as the World Bank, the Asian Development bank and the bilateral aid agencies, have expressed concerns in this matter. There is a plethora of

factors (see Figure 2.2) which may affect development project sustainability, though recently there has been much more emphasis placed on post-project evaluation and post-impact assessment, all of which have paved the way to alleviating the obstacles and challenges which threaten project sustainability. As long as foreign aid exists, projects continue. However, the major challenge is how about project sustainability once funding stops. Joaquine (1994, p. 54) in his study on development and sustainability discussed foreign aid and sustainability, saying that economically viable projects reduce the need for aid in the end.

Building on Joaquine's study, other authors have added that foreign aid has pre-occupied national development organisations to a point where they seem not to be concerned about maintaining what has been achieved in terms of development (Lyson et al. 2001, p. 1239).

Concluding his hypothesis, Joaquine says that participation may lead to project sustainability but it is not a panacea for the problem of sustainability of donor-funded programmes, as factors other than participation play a role. In his studies on scanning the boundary, Kumwenda (1998, p. 33) mentions 'projects that include the institutional, social, political, cultural and economic aspects can affect the success of development projects'. While pursuing a similar objective of attaining project success, Bartze (1998, pp. 99–112) argues that project success is a function of how the project has been designed. The following Figure 2.2 illustrates the factors affecting project sustainability.

With a plethora of studies on empowerment theory, many authors of radical grassroots perspectives have linked project success to participation. Authors who have written on decentralisation, grassroots radicalisation, citizen influence and control, popular development and adaptive planning and approaches, have also been influenced by the empowerment theory (Haines 2000, pp. 35–47) and social praxis views of Karl Marx. The empowerment debate has taken many forms that have included economic and political connotations. Brett (1996, pp. 9–17) and Brue (2002, pp. 730–732), argue that economic power is the key to project success. On a political front, empowerment enters on the pretext of decisions, freedom, influence, liberation, appropriation, expropriation and the ability to decide the future.

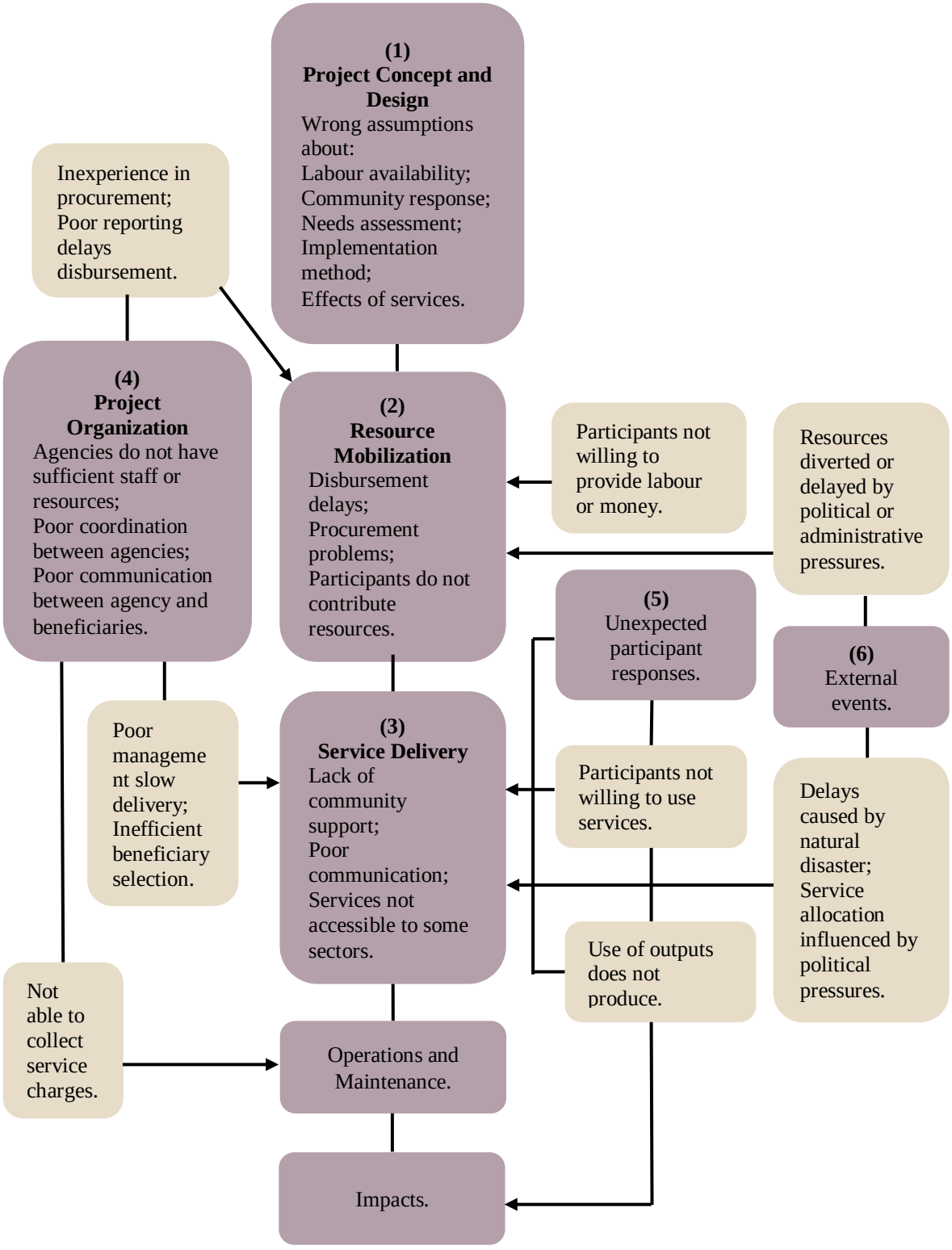

Figure 3.2: Factors affecting project sustainability

Source: Recreated and modified from Bamberger and Cheema (1990, p. 16).

Several factors are responsible for poor sustainability. Some are simple. Some are quite complex. Some are within the control of the project management, while others arise as external threats. Some of the factors can be (and indeed ought to be) taken care of right at the design stage of a project, whereas, others can be tracked and corrected during implementation, and monitoring. It is, therefore important that the factors that affect sustainability are articulated carefully and incorporated, as far as possible at the design stage. Later, the same factors can be followed up through monitoring. According to Khan, Western and Hossain (1992, p. 49):

> Factors that put [project] sustainability at risk are political, financial and organizational, community/beneficiary issues, limited understanding of social underdevelopment and poor management accountability, monitoring and evaluation … There are several other factors which are less generic and more project specific that may also affect sustainability. These are: (i) natural and man-made calamities, (ii) changing market conditions (for product-oriented income generating projects), (iii) cultural beliefs and prejudices, (iv) poor community willingness to pay for project services, and (v) introduction of inappropriate technology etc.

It is worth noting that in the comprehensive list of factors (Figure 2.2) affecting project sustainability there is no mention of any historical factors that may have influenced local communities and any attempts to alter the situation. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2) one of the key issues that this study will examine is whether a well-intentioned project such as the SMV pilot project has factored in the colonially induced institutional barriers that continue to disadvantage the poor. In addition, whether in these conditions the outcomes of the project are consistent with its intended objectives, namely poverty alleviation and sustainability. In addition, the study will focus on processes of SMVP implementation, its effects and outcomes, voices of the villagers, understanding the experiences and those engaged in, or affected by the MVP using Actor-Oriented Approach.

Actor-Oriented Approach (AOA) emphasises the ways in which development meanings are produced and negotiated in practice and how development processes and interactions have different significance for the various actors involved (Arce & Long 2000; Long & Long 1992). For example, the approach facilitates understanding of the ways government bureaucracies and development organisations operate and the differences between their formal objectives and goals and those that emerge through the practices and strategies pursued by actors at different organisational levels (Lewis 1998; Lewis et al. 2003). The approach considers the relation of policy and practice not as an instrumental or scripted translation of ideas into reality, but as a messy chaotic situation in which processes are often uncontrollable and results uncertain:

> The concept of intervention thus needs deconstructing so that it is seen for what it an ongoing, is – socially constructed and negotiated process, not simply the execution of an already-specified plan of action with expected outcomes (Long & Long 1992, p. 35).

N Long introduced the AOA and argued that one way out of the impasse in development and foreign aid is:

> to adopt an actor-oriented perspective that explored how social actors (both 'local' and 'external' to particular arenas) are locked into a series of intertwined battles over resources, meanings and institutional legitimacy and control (Long 2001, pp. 1–5).

AOA is widely used in rural development programmes by researchers, policy makers, development practitioners, national, and international agencies such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and many development NGOs (Mosse 2001, p. 9). The AOA is a response to previous structural analyses in development sociology which according to Long (2001), were insufficient in explaining structural changes because they merely looked at the impact of external forces (markets or international bodies). The AOA argues that structural changes are not a result of external forces alone, but are also influenced by social actors. According to Long (2001), when external interventions enter the prevailing 'life-worlds' of individuals or groups, they are equally altered and mediated by the same actors (Long 2001: 13). The lives and individual behaviours are transformed by the action of external forces operating on their daily life experiences and perceptions for the concerned groups, directly or indirectly. These ideas and tools are not new. Their parents are many and include anthropological and social network research techniques (Davies 2002; Lewis 1998; Long & Long 1992; Long & Van der Ploeg 1989); stakeholder analysis (Grimble & Wellard 1997; ODA 1995; Ramirez 1999); economic input and output models (Falcon 1967); agricultural information knowledge systems (Berdegue & Escobar 2002; Roling & Jiggens 1998); processes monitoring and documentation (Mosse et al., 1998); graphic theoretical techniques (Temel, Janssen & Karimov 2003); communications systems (Mundy 2003); and the analysis of the behaviour of disciplines in agricultural sciences (Raina 2002). However, the systematic application of these techniques by development actors within natural resources innovation systems is still not common.

In the AOA, consideration is paid to the complex interdependence between the strategies of specific actors, resource inputs (material/technical and social/institutional), and macro political-economic structure, whereby the location of action is to be sought in a structural context. Structural change at the national level is a critical precondition for the successful development of people. The significance of incorporating the views and aspirations of people is stressed here, since development is seen not merely in macro-economic terms but also in terms of the 'process of enrichment in every aspect of life' (Edwards 1994, pp. 282–285). Therefore, the AOA involves investigation of the extent to which specific kinds of knowledge are shaped by the domains of power and social relationships in which they are generated and

embedded. The conceptual foundation of an actor-oriented analysis is a theory of agency, based on the capacity of actors to process their experiences through mutual learning and to act upon them. It is here understood that social action takes place within networks of relationships, shaped both by routine and by explorative practices, and is influenced by certain social conventions, values and power relations (Long 2001).

Key concepts directing the AOA are agency, knowledge, and power construction in social disciplines. Agency refers to the mixture of social, cultural, and material elements that shape the perceptions of actors. Knowledge process construction refers to the ways in which actors appreciate their world (environments) based on their experiences and understandings. The ideas of the actors' projects that are comprised of different values, meanings, and notions regarding authority, control, domination, subordination, configure power and how resources are distributed. In this manner, power is considered a product but not a 'given' (empowerment) (Long 2001, pp. 242–243).

This methodology has been widely used in the rural development programmes, which is differentiated by a mixture of policies, programs, livelihood interventions, and actors with different interests based on the countless challenges facing rural communities (Long 2001).

Several studies exist supporting the use of the AOA. For example, Biggs and Matsaert (2004) used the AOA to investigate donor-funded poverty reduction programs in Nepal and Bangladesh. Using a case-study approach, they identified all the actors involved as well as the linkages between the actors in the programs. Using what they called actor linkage maps, they determined the existing relationships and how information flowed among the actors involved in a natural resource programme. They learned that weak linkages between the local community and external actors were preventing local participation in the programme even though the programme had the potential to improve local livelihoods. Biggs and Matsaert (2004) concluded that AOA tools were helpful in analysing the roles of aid agencies and other international organisations because it emphasised the role of social groups or actors. Other studies by Brenner and Job (2006) used the AOA to investigate the challenges of managing protected areas in Mexico's tourism industry that has multiple power structures. The study revealed that Mexico's tourism industry faced challenges of planning, coordination, and lack of enhanced local participation despite massive investments by government and non-governmental agencies. Similarly, Long and Lui (2009) used the AOA to investigate the impact of a European Union-funded village-based forest-management project on rural livelihoods in northwest China. This study found out that even though the project was aimed at improving local livelihoods and forest protection, local participation was diminished by the

interplay between local actors against those of other dominant and interests and powerful institutions. Thus, this project failed to reconcile international discourses of forestry interventions with local meanings, or empower local communities.

The application of the AOA by these studies reflects the objectives of this study in several ways. The findings confirm that the AOA is effective for investigating programmes that target poverty reduction interventions. This is evidenced by the projects that were investigated, all of which had multiple actors drawn from the local regional, national, and international levels striving to bring change to local communities. The poverty reduction interventions programmes were based on decision making and funding from national, bilateral, and multilateral agencies.

The interaction amongst development actors exposed the aspects of power, knowledge and agency that the AOA is intended to explore. The underlying relationships between the actors are similar to those depicted between rich and poor countries as some of the literature reveals (Easterly 2006). Similarly, literature on social capital and empowerment supports the role that norms, trust, and reciprocity play in communities. These elements were highlighted by the studies that used the AOA in enhancing local participation. The use of case study methodology and identification of the key actors involved is also similar to the boundaries of this study.

The AOA supports the literature used for this study in regards to exploring policies and programmes intended for community empowerment, the practices of aid agencies, livelihood interventions, new and old practices, local versus national and global, and the interfaces between these levels. Black and White (2004: 3) stated that MDGs/MVP have now become institutionalised by the UN and the international community and implemented as an overarching policy intervention with intended and unintended consequences, part of an historical legacy of 'poverty and sustainable development policy' construction. This study is interested in exploring the relationships among the actors involved and evaluation of the MVP interventions in SMV, Kenya. The MVP is guided by policies that are likely to reconfigure the local communities' aspects of agency, knowledge, and power that are highlighted in this study. Aspects of AOA emerge from the existing power, relationships, interactions, and the shift from short term to long-term aims and objectives of the MDGs and MVP in 2015. As other studies have revealed, interventions are strengthened and become more effective and sustainable when the relationships among the actors facilitate information flow over time (Biggs & Matsaert 2004; Brenner & Job 2006; Long 2001; Long & Jinlong 2009). For the purposes of this study, the AOA will mean:

> any approach in which the actors in development are given definite roles, some as givers and others as receivers and some even as administrators on the side-line, but always in such a way that there is no sign of a top-down approach and that the whole process becomes actor-driven (Long 2001, p. 16).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical and conceptual issues of poverty, theories of sustainability and sustainability of projects at local level and foreign aid relevant to the topic of the thesis. These discussions have revealed that (i) Poverty is a multidimensional concept and that assessment of outcomes of poverty alleviation interventions must consider both income and non-income definitions of poverty; (ii) The concept of 'sustainability' includes organisational and post-implementation sustainability of concluded projects. (iii) Foreign aid is a multifaceted subject and as a development intervention, it involves both opportunities as well as risks. In addition, the chapter discussed AOA theory to frame the study in Sauri and provide a bridge between paradigms to explain the research issues, research study and design, and fieldwork. Further, to investigate experiences of actors and see if foreign aid processes that underpin the basis of SMVP and/or tackle the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya, ascertaining whether the application of these principles in future would improve development programmes such as Kenya Vision 2030, are applying the basic principles of the AOA.

The following chapter details how this framework translates into an appropriate methodology to explore how different actors in Sauri construct poverty, sustainability and foreign aid and AOA to capture the multifaceted context of SMVP.

The overall purpose of the MDGs in SMV was to halve extreme poverty between 2000 and 2015, and to achieve sustainable development by investing in the inter-related programmes in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health in Sauri. Therefore, the overall aim of the study was to identify and analyse SMVP interventions, at theoretical and practical levels, with particular focus on processes of implementing this approach, its effects and outcomes, voices of the villagers, understanding the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by the MVP. This is both a bottom-up and top-down approach to community development that seeks to empower rural communities to manage their local development needs sustainably, whilst harmonising the activities of all actors involved in the MVP partnership from local, national, non-governmental, and donor agencies (Cabral, Farrington, & Ludi 2006; Carr 2008; Konecky & Palm 2008). As discussed in the literature, since there is insufficient independent documentation about the impact of the MVP on the local community in Sauri, it is vital to have a proper perspective of this programme as it is concerned with foreign aid, poverty alleviation and sustainability beyond the expiry date of the project, 2015. To this end, the thesis is an evaluation of the MVP in Sauri in terms of these key sectors and strategies and levels of institutional capacity required to effectively combat poverty at village level. This study examines the case of Sauri using the actor-oriented approach (AOA) as advocated by Long (2001) in explaining structural changes in personal and community networks associated with the MVP interventions. The AOA argues that structural changes are not the result of external forces alone, but are also influenced by social actors. According to Long, when external interventions enter the prevailing 'life-worlds' of individuals or groups, they are equally altered and mediated by the same actors that the AOA theory used to analyse how foreign aid, poverty and sustainability are constructed, drawn from different actors engaged in different environments depending on their position in the project.

Bringing socio-economic-political economy and sustainability together involves focusing on the subjective experiences, attitudes, priorities and knowledge of communities at the local level, alongside analysis of the global structures such as the MDGs/MVP that form those practices. As instituted in Chapter 2, this requires the development of a qualitative and participatory methodology appropriate for cross-cultural research and informed by the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the social constructivist-interpretivist paradigm of sociological inquiry, but which also acknowledges components of actor-oriented research (Denzin & Lincoln 1994). At the crossing point of theory and method, methodology 'addresses the links between what we want to know and how we ought to go

about establishing it – the logic of method' (Smith 1990, p. 2). Methods, therefore, 'must be selected or even created for each study to fit its circumstances' (Smith 1990, p. 2). The nature of the epistemological, theoretical and methodological issues dictated that I frame my study as an exploration of SMVP with qualitative methods as my major methodology, not only because it was suitable but also because it had the potential to reveal gaps in foreign aid, poverty reduction and sustainability in the SMVP case study in Kenya. Case studies must use a wide range of data sources, methods and analytic strategies (Schrank 2006; Yin 2009).

This chapter presents the research methodology that has been adopted for the research reported in this study. In order to systematically comprehend the complex contexts of SMVP evaluation, the research strategy that has been considered to be the most appropriate for the purpose is that of the exploratory qualitative case study which has been recommended for understanding society and culture based on the in-depth immersion that case studies involve (Creswell 2007; Marshall & Rossman 2011). The case study approach incorporates data collection methods such as interviews, observation, document analysis, and even surveys (Marshall & Rossman 2011; Patton 2002). Qualitative methods – such as interviews, observation, focus groups and participatory research – fit with methodologies that seek to acknowledge the role of interaction in constructing how we understand the social world (Guba & Lincoln 2004).

4.1 Ontological and epistemological perspectives

Qualitative research employs mixed methods, involving an interpretive, real-life approach to its subject matter in their natural settings, attempting to co-understand and co-interpret phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln 1994). A paradigm or an interpretive framework may contain the researcher's epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 19). This study, following a constructivist paradigm, consists of the relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, and interpretive naturalistic set of methodological procedures.

Relativist ontology

The intention in the present study has been to capture the relative values attached to respective evaluations by villagers in Sauri. As emphasised in the Responsive-Constructivist Evaluation approach of Lincoln and Guba (1989), the manner in which diverse values in social reality are reflected in evaluation is brought into focus through a process of analysing those evaluations. In this study, relativist ontology is maintained throughout, thereby acknowledging the importance of foregrounding the views of villagers with regard to

enhancing the sustainability of, and strengthening the justification for, foreign aid to reduce poverty while recognising the constraints on its implementation.

Subjectivist epistemology

The viewpoint adopted in the present study is founded on the belief that there is a multiple-interpretive world, each having its own criteria for interpretation, rather than any single interpretative truth as discussed in Chapter 2. Subjectivist epistemology presumes that the reality exists as a projection of human subjects and that knowledge is a human construction. It acknowledges all knowledge as value-based, emerging from a certain perspective (Guba & Lincoln 1989). Understanding and interpretation are closely related, and some interpretation is involved in all acts of understanding (Scott & Marshall 2005).

Interpretive-naturalistic methodology:

Emphasis on interpretation is the most distinctive characteristic of qualitative research (Stake 1995, p. 8). The goal of interpretive sociologists in general is to inter-subjectively understand shared meanings in social realities at the level of subjective experience (Morgan & Burrell 1979). The subjective nature of interpretation is acknowledged in this study with regard to the creation and understanding of 'data', which concerns the perspectives of stakeholders.

4.2 Methodological approach

This study attempts to capture the 'complexity of reality' (Strauss 1987) through particularisation of the object of the research. The study, being an exploratory[22] qualitative case study, was started in a relatively open-ended manner in order to gain a holistic picture of the object of the research and consequently the construction of questions. The data-coding process has also been relatively open ended to avoid excessive limitations being imposed on the data through close adherence to some readymade framework. As established in Chapter 3, this requires developing a qualitative methodology appropriate for cross-cultural research.

Noteworthy advantages of qualitative research include its flexibility and depth, given that there is no requirement to adhere to any particular preferred methodological practice and making it possible to adopt an approach that is 'interdisciplinary' and 'trans-disciplinary' (e.g. crossing the boundaries between the humanities and the social sciences) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp. 6–7). The value of the mixed method approach has now become widely recognised

[22] Here, 'exploratory' means, borrowing Stebbins' (2001) term, exploration for discovery, which aims to be as broad and thorough as possible in order to understand the full picture of the area under study. Starting out as exploratory, the research process became increasingly purposive and systematic as the focus became clearer.

as is the case with regard to the naturalistic perspective and interpretive understanding of human experience.

At the crossing point of theory and method, methodology 'addresses the links between what we want to know and how we ought to go about establishing it – the logic of method' (Smith, 1990, p. 2). Methods, therefore, 'must be selected or even created for each study to fit its circumstances' (Smith, 1990, p. 2). Qualitative methods – such as interviews, observation, focus groups and participatory research – fit with methodologies that seek to acknowledge the role of interaction in constructing how we understand the social world (Guba & Lincoln, 2004).

4.2.1 Sauri – Introduction and start of fieldwork

(Coordinates 0°07′ 56.84N 34°29'39.88E; Elevation 1396m.)

Sauri is located in western Kenya about 50 kilometres north of the capital city Kisumu where the MVP headquarters is based. Kisumu is the third largest city in Kenya. Nyanza province is one of the eight Kenyan provinces, of which Sauri is a part. The population of Nyanza is 5,442,711 people (September 2010 census), within an area of 16,162 km². The climate is tropical and humid throughout the year. Initially, Nyanza had four administrative districts, but since the 1990s, the province was further divided into 12 districts. The majority of its inhabitants are the Luo ethnic group (94.6%). Luhya comprise approximately 5% of the population, and all others (Kisii, Kikuyu and others) less than 1%.

Sauri is a conglomerate of 11 villages, which administratively are sub-locations. These include Bar Sauri, Anyiko, Nyamninia, Jina, Marenyo, Nyawara, Nyandiwa, Gongo, Ramula, Uranga and Lihanda, illustrated in Figure 4.1. The Sauri cluster has a total population of approximately 60,234 individuals, with 13,923 households (The Earth Institute, 2007). Agriculture is the primary livelihood for residents of Sauri. Most households derive their livelihood from subsistence farming and many residents rely on remittances sent by people living and working outside the village to supplement their meagre rural incomes. Seventy-nine per cent of the population live on less than US$1 per day and 89.5% live on less than US$2 per day (Earth Institute 2007). Land area per household for farming is usually less than 0.5 hectares, with most households being subsistence farmers. The main crop is maize, and other crops include beans, sweet potatoes, bananas, plantains, cassava, kale, tomatoes and onions. However, Sauri lacks basic services, such as water, sanitation and electricity that are necessary to sustain economic growth. Water sources in Sauri include springs (protected and unprotected), shallow wells, piped water and rainwater harvesting. Springs are not easily accessible to the majority of residents because very steep slopes surround some springs,

rendering access difficult. Many homesteads have informal rainwater harvesting systems with metal roofs and gutters discharging into buckets or a metal drum. However, approximately 20% of homesteads have grass-thatched roofs, which do not allow for rainwater harvesting.

Sauri Landscape

Market

School

Hotel

Water collection

Figure 4.1: Sauri Millennium Village cluster and some images

Source: Google Earth SMV and author's photographs from fieldwork.

There are three primary schools in Sauri and one secondary school near the western border of Sauri. Only one of the schools has a connection to the electricity grid, with the others relying on a generator or high-wattage electricity supply. A limited school lunch programme was in place in 2004 prior to the start of intervention, but it was unable to reach more than 20% of primary students (MPND 2009).

After receiving official ethical clearance from the University of Queensland Ethics Committee in October 2009, I started planning my fieldwork from the capital city Nairobi to gain official approval, following strict protocols required by the government and obtaining written consent from the National Coordinator of the MDGs (see Appendix A) and organisations managing the MVP (see Appendix B). Given my desire to identify official MDGs related policies, programmes and their implementation in Kenya, and more specifically the outcome of the MVP, the Kenya National MDGs Project Coordinator at the MDGs Centre was best placed to explain first, the official protocol and provide clearance for my research in Sauri, and second, to answer my questions and grant access to official government documents.

I met Mr Gideon Mailu, National Project Coordinator MDGs on 24 August 2009 at his office in the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and Kenya Vision 2030, in downtown Nairobi in the Treasury Building, Harambee Avenue. Mailu was very helpful and showed interest in the purpose of my study and mentioned that the Ministry has identified nine districts in which to replicate MVP. The districts include Bondo, Bungoma, Garissa, Kilifi, Meru South, Muranga, Siaya, Suba and Turkana all in 'hunger hotspots' where at least 20% of children are malnourished and severe poverty is endemic. Further, he told me that the lessons learnt from the findings of my research could be incorporated in the new nine villages. I was fortunate enough to obtain written consent from Mailu. This opened doors to interview officials and gave me access to Kenyan Government documents that helped achieve the aims of the research.

As ethical research practices were integral to the research project, ethical clearance at every aspect of the research process was important. Whether accessing written records, photography, homes, or survey respondents, for credible data collection it was important to establish proper channels for access with ethical responsibility towards participants. Written (and in some cases verbal) consent was obtained from individual civilian participants (see Appendix C). Most of the men and women at the project site work in informal sectors. Therefore it was essential to gain the consent of people working in the informal sectors (both men and women), perishable food vendors (mainly women), female-headed households, both male and female-headed households, and officials and local leaders, to answer my research questions. Every aspect of ethics clearance was explained in detail in English, Swahili (national language) or in Luo (local dialogue translated by my two assistants) at the same time, being diligent to undertake my research with the highest consideration for ethical processes when in these rural and remote locations. This important section is diluted by adding details of 'access' to the 'field' which are a 'formality' or research hurdle issues, not ethical matters.

The fieldwork for this study started in November 2009. After having received consent from the highest authorities[23] and as the logistics of travelling to the research site were challenging, I immediately contacted the Team Leader Patrick Mutua in Kisumu where the headquarters of the MVP is located. Mutua agreed to meet me on 2 November 2009 at his office in Kisumu to discuss my research. Therefore, early morning on Saturday, 31 October, I started driving to Kisumu, which is northeast of Nairobi a distance of about 320 kilometres. It took me about five hours due to the poor condition of the road. Another half an hour to my destination, the Nyanza Club, through the dusty streets of Kisumu past vendors selling barbecued maize in front of shacks cobbled together from metal cans and containers beaten flat and nailed onto wooden struts. Occasionally I could make out the faded logo of the U.S. Agency for International Development on the rusted shell of an old vegetable-oil can. As I neared my destination, I caught a glimpse of Lake Victoria's shore, where vendors in stalls sell fried tilapia and Uguli (national food – chunks of boiled maize meal).

Early on Monday 2 November, I started driving in my Nissan Terrano II for my meeting at 9.00am because I was not very sure about the street in Kisumu. After seeking directions from three pedestrians, I arrived at the concrete compound at the headquarters of the MVP. I reported to the receptionist sitting behind a computer monitor. The reception area was about 3 x 3 metres square, full of dusty materials lying all over the place. The receptionist at the desk indicated for me to sit as she was on the phone. At 9.12, she directed me to Mutua's office through a maze of development experts sitting at computer monitors in glass-walled cubicles. Mutua briefed me using a power presentation on his computer on the achievements of the MVP that I suppose he had done numerous times to all visitors and arranged for a guide – Patrick to take me to Sauri, which is about 45 kilometres from Kisumu. After the briefing, he handed me a copy of the itinerary he had prepared for my visit. It read:

> **THE MILLENNIUM VILLAGES PROJECT**
> VISIT TO SAURI MILLENNIUM VILLAGES PROJECT ON 2 NOVEMBER 2009
> Amrik Kalsi, Director Sustainability Africa.
>
> 09.00 am – Briefing session by Team Leader – MVP Kisumu Office Conference Room.
> 10.00 am – 11.00 am Drive to Millennium Villages project in Yala.
> 11.00 am – 12.00 noon Visit Ramula Health Center.
> 12.05 – 01.00 pm Kanyuto Primary School.
>
> - School lunch programme & kitchen – modern cook stoves
> - Computer class

[23] Gideon Mailu, National Project Coordinator MDGs, Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and Kenya Vision 2030, MDGs Centre for East and Southern Africa, Nairobi.

- Rain water harvesting in school
- Physical infrastructure (classrooms, VIP)
- Bore hole

01.10 pm – 02.00 pm Fish farming and fingerling production in Uranga at Mt. Kund's farm

02.10 pm – 03.00 pm Visit John Otipa farm in Onding (after the primary school next to shopping centre).

- Protected spring
- Soil conversation
- Tree seedlings

03.00 pm – 04.30 pm Visit a horticultural treadle pump irrigation farmer (George); see a green house in Onding.

04.40 pm – End of tour, drive back to Kisumu.

Sauri itself lies just off the road to Uganda, and the sight of tall, strong stalks of maize was the first indication that we had arrived. Women in brightly coloured headscarves from wooden shacks marked the sides of the red-brown dirt road selling second-hand clothes, homemade snacks and soft drinks. The grass behind them was a lush green, giving way to a wall of maize plants beneath a sky heavy with the clouds that hang in the rainy season. After negotiating footpaths through the maize fields and acacias our first stop was the Ramula Health Center where the doctor briefed me on the facilities and improvements since the inception of the MVP. It provided stark reminders of the depth of Sauri's problems and the benefits money can bring. Minutes later, we arrived at the green courtyard of Kanyuto Primary School. The redbrick buildings with holes for doors and windows house classrooms for more than 600 children. One of the buildings lacked a roof. The teacher seemed embarrassed to tell us that it had blown off in storm just days before. However, he was enthusiastic about the school's innovative feeding programme. Ten per cent of the village's harvest goes toward school lunches for the children, he said. In addition, the MVP buys fruit, meat, and fish to provide students with necessary vitamins and protein. The project has built upon Sauri's own school feeding programme, established five years ago for students in the top year. Now the entire student body receives nourishing meals. Since Sauri began the programme, its school ranking has risen from just inside the top 200 in the district into the top 10. Improved nutrition means that the students can concentrate better, and they are healthier and more energetic. Sauri won everything at the regional sports day, the teacher told us. The rest of the day went smoothly as such visits are a daily feature of SMV. Never before has so much money been invested in an African community as small as Sauri. If Sauri succeeds, it could usher in a new era for development in Africa. The village will be seen as model whose success can be duplicated across Africa. However, Rich (2010) argues that if Sauri fails, the West may become yet more

disillusioned with aid, and perhaps even reduce what it presently contributes. This is a defining moment in the aid debate.

Such brief visits as the one arranged for me to show some success stories are typical on a regular basis for Sachs's celebrity protégés, perhaps Angelina Jolie or Bono, or maybe a millionaire altruist such as George Soros, or unglamorous American professors to visit, to advise the project and for fundraising. Therefore, in order to answer my research questions an in-depth investigation of Sauri was paramount to progress the real picture of SMVP.

I had to make another official trip to introduce myself and my research to the area District Commissioner (DC) and the Chief with authority and gain consent to carry out my fieldwork because on my first visit they had not been available, attending family matters. The DC official gatekeeper was supportive and voluntarily gave his consent (see Appendix D) once he understood that the nature of my research did not have any politically sensitive connotations for Kenya and did not present any risk to villagers.

4.3 Data collection procedures

The strengths of fieldwork, according to Brewer and Hunter (1989, p. 45), include the potential it offers for generating realistic theories based on the complexity of actual social life. A further strength is that it allows the researcher to gain 'an empathic understanding of societal phenomena', encompassing both the 'historical dimension of human behaviour and the subjective aspects of the human experience' (Nachmias & Nachmias 1996, p. 280).

Data collection for this study was guided by the actor-oriented approach established in Chapter 3, focusing on the interaction among the actors involved in a project or programme (Long, 2001). Based on the concepts of the actor-oriented approach, as well as the literature review elements, the two broad actor categories for this study were the local SMVP communities and SMVP staff and SMVP documents, and the external actors drawn from the Government of Kenya. Data was collected in two phases.

The first locations were the National MDGs Project Coordination Centre, the MDGs Centre for East and Southern Africa, and the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and Kenya Vision 2030. A number of interviews were carried out, documents and reports studied to gain a deeper understanding of the KV2030 macro-economic framework approach to poverty alleviation nationally (see Chapter 6), its relevance to the incorporated

MDGs and the implications of this approach for the nine villages[24] selected for future replication of the SMVP. This background is important to understand totally the development priorities, interventions and challenges facing the Government of Kenya because they affect, amongst other things, the MDGs outcomes at village level and their replication. These interviews, documents and reports have enabled the collection of a considerable amount of information and knowledge, not only concerning the KV2030 and the MDGs nationally but also with regard to general poverty reduction and development in a historical context.

The next step was qualitative and focused on individual and group experiences at the study site Sauri, ascertain the process of implementation and the suitability of MVP, its effects and outcomes, and understanding the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by the MVP. In addition, was an intention to discover whether SMVP has reduced poverty and contributed to improving other productive and social development goals, such as those related to agriculture and non-agriculture, health and education, and determining the sustainability of the interventions. Whether the existing capacities of local government and those of the community are adequate to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered during the planning and implementation phases of the project, is a matter for conjecture.

Data was collected between August and November 2009, January and March 2010 and May and August 2010. The date, time and location of the interviews were usually arranged by appointment. As most people involved in Sauri work informally, i.e. casual and unregulated by the government sector, interviews and observations were conducted between 9am and 5pm at their place of work. Perishable food vendors' interviews and observations were conducted between 9am and 5pm, also at their place of work, or from 9am to 11am and 3pm to 5pm in their homes. Government officials and local leaders' interviews and observations were conducted from 9am to 5pm at their place of work. The people in these sectors were best placed to answer research questions regarding what ways the SMVP interventions have been implemented, changed their lives and contribute towards better policies and improved programmes to reduce poverty. After one pilot survey, questions for interviews and an observation checklist were designed.

The study team further collected project documentation from the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and Vision 2030 in Nairobi, the MDGs Centre and MVP in Kisumu, to gather detailed information about programme context and content, policies and

[24] Nine villages include Bondo, Bungoma, Garissa, Kilifi, Meru South, Muranga, Siaya, Suba and Turkana all in 'hunger hotspots' where at least 20% of children are malnourished and severe poverty is endemic.

implementation and track the actual course of events to develop an understanding of the process of programme planning and implementation. The specific programme outcomes were substantiated by both in-depth interviews and documentary evidence. The study data is from focus group discussions; observations at the project site through attending 'Barazas' (community meetings); semi-structured key informant interviews; and informal conversations recorded on my Olympus DS-2200 digital voice recorder.

Participants in Sauri involved individual households and work places, markets, public areas, the local primary and secondary schools. According to Mason (2002), a strategic, qualitative sampling strategy should help develop theoretically and empirically grounded arguments based on the research questions, rather than following a representational logic. The sample for this study was evenly distributed between females and males. Women tended to be in the home more often than their male counterparts were and more men tended to be at their place of work than women were. Perspectives of both groups were important because women bore a disproportionate responsibility when it came to caring for their children and maintaining the house surroundings. Some male key informants were purposively sought out and included because of the positions of authority or significance that they occupied in their villages.

Documentary evidence was used to corroborate information obtained from in-depth interviews, and in-depth interviews were conducted with people in different status positions with potentially different perspectives and levels of involvement with project activities. The study focused on current conditions, using past data to primarily substantiate the information gathered about the processes of programme planning and implementation. The narrative and numerical evidence was compiled by the principal investigator and was critically reviewed by my assistants.

Piloting the questionnaire and logistics

Piloting of the interview questions involved pre-interviews with selected key participants to obtain estimates about the expected response rates, data quality and the validity and comprehensibility of the questionnaire, helping me to focus on my research objectives. I used pilot interviews to test questions and I built a rapport with participants to ensure effective communications. All this helped me to gain some insight into the shape of the study, which otherwise might have been difficult to execute. I took the opportunity to discuss other issues such as the effective use of participants' time, because working in the field, especially at the research sites, could have been unpredictable due to weather conditions and time keeping by the participants. This assisted me to refine and adjust the research design while beginning to understand further the villagers' beliefs, customs and behaviours – especially in the context of

MVP intervention. Pilot studies were conducted with a small sample of volunteers to determine the effectiveness and validity of the questions and, whether the questions were clear, relevant and unbiased. Following the pilot studies, I made improvements to the data collection process and tools and in keeping with anthropological standards, names and potential identifying characteristics of all individuals were changed to ensure anonymity.

As I have been living in Kenya for many years I was familiar with local customs and languages and I did not anticipate many challenges in making contact and communicating with respondents for collecting data. I hired two research assistants to function as translators of the local Luo dialect. I was fortunate to come across two assistants who could also support me in the logistics and fieldwork for this research. The first was Tom Okeyo, a Luo born in Rusinga Island in Lake Victoria and raised in the region in which the Sauri research village is located. Tom was a university graduate in Geography and is fluent in English, Luo and Swahili. The second assistant was Collins Dulo, a university graduate in Economics, who was born in the same region and now lives in Homa Bay. Having both lived in the region all their lives, Tom and Collins became my associates and companions during my fieldwork. They provided interpretation services, especially when communication in the local tribal dialogue, Luo, which I do not speak, was necessary. I communicated with the villagers in Swahili using my national language. By having Tom and Collins with me during my research, and with my own knowledge about the customs and traditions of the people in Nyanza Province, the villagers felt quite comfortable with my research, with many giving their consent to interviews, photographs and access to their homes and places of work during working hours. Therefore, I was able to include many informal interviews and discussions, which assisted the logistics for more in-depth fieldwork. My two assistants were based in the research area and made nine trips to Nairobi for discussions and progress.

4.4 Mixed methods data collection approach

I examined the case of SMV using mixed methods due to the exploratory nature of my investigation of one village – Sauri. To ensure quality and accuracy of the data, researchers need to employ the strategies of mixed sources, methods, investigations and theories (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Supporting Lincoln and Guba, Brewer and Hunter (1989) have maintained that the diversity of methods implies greater opportunities for cross-validating and cross-fertilising research procedures, findings and theories. In addition, this methodology was also useful to explore, describe and explain foreign aid implications, the multidimensional phenomenon of poverty and sustainability of the SMVP. Therefore, mixed methods approach

was the most credible and reliable way to collect present data and support my analytical framework.

There are inherent advantages in the mixed methods approach, which revolve around facilitating an in-depth understanding of the people, the organisation and interventions (Myers, 1999). Further, knowledge of what happens in the field can often provide vital information to challenge existing assumptions, such as those that underpin the MVP. Findings from this research inform decision makers of the overall effects (intended and unintended) of the project, which is one of the aims of the research. This approach described what happened subsequent to delivery of the programme, assessed the outcome and determined the overall impact of the SMVP beyond the immediate target outcomes. Data collection sources, methods used and data sought, and population and sample sizes are outlined in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, and methods discussed in the following section.

Table 4.1: Data collection source, method/s and type

SOURCES	METHOD	TYPE OF DATA
Multi/Bilateral agencies: UN; UNDP; IIED; WB; IFAD; The Brooking Institute; The Earth Institute; UNESCO; UNICEF.	Document collection.	Data from documents and reports on MDGs, MVP, SMVP to identify and study organisation policies, strategies, evaluations and reported MDGs achievements.
Kenya Government documents and project documents; Pragmatic data and records from multiple published sources.	Documents collection; Semi-structured interviews.	To explore data of historical and contemporary poverty reduction policies, strategies, programmes; and official development policies, programmes and their implementation. To identify significant historical and/or contemporary factors advancing poverty in Kenya and any factors hindering implementation of poverty reduction programmes and the effectiveness of poverty reduction strategies in Kenya. To explore data of current Kenya Vision 2030 macro-economic growth policies and the MDGs implementation and progress.
MDGs Centre for Central Africa; MVP Head Office in Kisumu.	Documents collection; Semi-structured interviews.	To gather and explore detailed information about MVP/SMVP programme context and content, policies and implementation. Track the actual course of events to develop an understanding of the process of programme planning and implementation in agriculture and non-agricultural, education and health interventions.
Governmental officials: District Officer; Chief and Assistant Chief.	Semi-structured interviews with key informants; Informal conversations.	Ascertain to what extent the application of the broad framework of the Millennium Development Goals were suited the conditions of the Sauri Millennium Village; Determine whether the existing capacities of local government and those of the community are adequate to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered during the planning and implementation phases of the project.
Schools; Clinics; Homes; Subsistence farms;	Participatory workshops; Semi-structured interviews with key informants;	To explore implementation of SMVP, whether and how the project reduced poverty and contributed to improving other productive and social development goals such as those related to health and education and interventions made in agriculture

Small businesses; Perishable food vendors.	Informal conversations; Participant observation; Barazas (community meetings).	and how sustainable were the interventions? To explore and understand the existing capacities of local government and those of the community; To determine whether their capacities were adequate to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered during the planning and implementation phases of the project.
Literature/ Documents	Literature review.	Data from relevant literature in order to develop theoretical/conceptual framework for the study.
Schools; Clinics; Homes; Subsistence farms; Small businesses; Perishable food vendors.	Field notes	Data on the implementation of SMVP, whether and how the project reduced poverty and contributed to improving other productive and social development goals such as those related to health and education and interventions made in agriculture and how sustainable were the interventions? Data on the existing capacities of local government and those of the community; Data on capacities of villagers were to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered during the planning and implementation phases of the project.

Table 4.2: Population and sample sizes – SMV

Households		Focus Groups		Observation		Semi-structured Interviews with residents and key informants		Informal Interviews and Conversations		Documents
M	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	Time series analysis depending on availability
26	17	12	19	18	19	23	25	25	20	
Total 43		**Total 2 (31)**		**Total 37**		**Total 48**		**Total 45**		

Sauri: Population 60,234; M: Male; F: Female

4.4.1 Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs)

Two focus groups were systematically and purposely selected in Sauri because of their common interest and experience in SMVP and interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health interventions in Sauri. Focus group participants were characterised by their homogeneity in terms of occupation, social class, educational level, age, education, or family characteristics, and gender but with sufficient variation and unfamiliarity with each other to allow for contrasting opinions.

Focus group methodology is useful in exploring and examining what people think, how they think, and why they think the way they do about the issues of importance to them without pressuring them into making decisions or reaching a consensus. According to Kitzinger (2005, p. 57), a well-known focus group researcher, the focus group method is an 'ideal' approach for examining the stories, experiences, points of view, beliefs, needs and concerns of individuals. The form of communication people use in their everyday life 'may tell us as much, if not more' (Kitzinger 2005, p. 58) about their knowledge and experience. As such,

focus groups permit researchers to enter the world of the participants which other research methods may not be able to do. Focus groups are likely to reveal diverse understandings that often are difficult to access by more orthodox methods of data collection. The method also allows the researchers to explore individuals' diverse perspectives since focus groups function within the social network of groups. Crucially then, focus groups discover 'how accounts are articulated, censured, opposed, and changed through social interaction and how this relates to peer communication and group norms' (Kitzinger 2005, p. 58).

Focus Group discussions were conducted to further confirm responses to survey questionnaires and enable the identification of common experiences. The majority of the participants were women between the ages of 25 and 80, who lived in the villages. The younger ones (20 to 50 years) were involved in a number of jobs attending their small subsistence farms and selling farm produce. The older women took care of either their own children and/or their grandchildren. According to the local economic indicators, the women all fell into the low or low-middle socio-economic class. Women holding full-time jobs like teachers and nurses could not attend any of the focus group discussions. I recruited participants using a snowball method whereby I invited community leaders and a small number of women and requested that they bring family, friends, or neighbours who would be willing to participate voluntarily in our group discussions.

The topics included, but were not limited to, definitions of poverty, sustainable development, MDGs, MVP, awareness of government and local development policies and initiatives, their effectiveness, progress and achievements and any gaps in the SMVP. The discussions were audio recorded and my research assistants took notes.

4.4.2 Observation

In qualitative research, observation refers to 'methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing himself of her in a research "setting" so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting' (Mason, 2002: 84). This reflects the social-constructivist view that researchers are active knowledge makers, and that their position (including identity, actions and relations with others) influences the type of data generated. In my study, observation facilitated another perception of knowledge that is always partial and subjective. Observation can thus be seen as a means of triangulating between (1) direct observations of settings (e.g. observing participants in their daily life on their 'shambas' (small fields) and in farming cooperatives); (2) interactions (between group/cooperative members and community authority figures); and (3) the research process itself (through writing myself into field notes, and considering the influence of my 'standpoint' on what was

observed). As Mason (2002) points out, it is also sometimes more ethical to enter the field as a participant and to get involved. Indeed, observation and participation are inseparable in actor-oriented research.

Observation can be overt (everyone knows they are being observed) or covert (no one knows they are being observed and the observer is concealed) (Centre for Disease Control and prevention 2008, p. 1). The benefit of covert observation is that people are more likely to behave naturally if they do not know they are being observed. Observations can also be either direct or indirect. Direct observation is watching interactions, processes or behaviours as they occur. Indirect observation is watching the results of interactions, processes or behaviours. When respondents were unwilling or unable to provide data through questionnaires or interviews, I used overt observations to collect data because of my familiarity with their customs and environment. Having spent considerable time at the project site and being familiar with their customs and values, this also allowed me to directly observe what villagers did, rather than relying on what they say they did.

According to Bernard (2006, p. 342) participant-observation has long been recognised as the fundamental method in anthropological inquiry. It allows anthropologists to experience life in the culture under examination and, through this experience, to understand local knowledge and behaviours. For these reasons, participant-observation was the predominant method I used. I conducted participant-observation in individual households and work places, markets, public areas, the local primary and secondary schools to determine their knowledge of government official policies and programmes; historical and/or contemporary factors frustrating SMVP; its suitability. How it is being implemented and in what ways the project had changed the lives of the villagers; and their views regarding the improvement of the SMVP development framework to suit their environment. Observations were noted as they occurred, where applicable and not distracting to the natural course of experiences. I transcribed complete field notes at an opportune time, most often in the evenings. I observed and noted in my diary to the best of my ability the major experiences from my day. I was especially aware of activities that would provide insight into the achievements of SMVP in places such as people's work places, homes, schools and clinics. After ethical permission from the head of a household, I conducted direct observation in 37 households in Sauri to judge implementation and progress of SMV, and the ways in which the project had changed the lives of the villagers.

4.4.3 Semi-structured interviews with residents of Sauri and key informants

Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for producing rich and descriptive data in relation to values, beliefs, social processes and how meaning is produced (Mason 2002). Interview methods are convenient for explaining potential sources of conflict between policy and, local knowledge and practice (Marshall & Rossman 2011). With qualitative interview data, the views of individuals are privileged through their lived experience, which also enhances our understanding of the views (Creswell 2007; Kvale 1996). The qualitative semi-structured method was therefore intended to discover the feelings, thoughts, values, assumptions, actions, and experiences of actors associated with the SMVP. Semi-structured interviews were used to capture detailed contextual and relational accounts of individuals living in communities that are part of the SMVP, participating in the agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health interventions, and their evaluation of the interventions.

Interviews were conducted with 48 key informants from agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health sectors; 25 being females and 23 males. Specific information about participants can be found in Appendix B. I conducted interviews with programme officers (2) and government officials (3) of the SMVP to gather information concerned with policy, implementation and progress about the programme. Interviews were also conducted in individual households (9) and work places (11), markets place (10), Barazas (8), the local primary and secondary school (5) to explore and understand poverty and poverty levels, knowledge, approaches and processes of implementation of SMVP, problems and power structures, its effects and outcomes, their views on improvement, sustainability and the future vision of the MVP. This was useful to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the SMVP.

Interviews followed the recursive model, whereby interactions direct the interview process (Minichiello et al. 1995). In such interviews, I was able to probe and ask detailed questions about respondents' situations. In addition, I was able to explain or rephrase and use my assistants to translate the questions into the local dialect (Luo) if respondents were unclear about the questions. Patton (2002, p. 343) recommends that researchers:

> Explore, probe, and ask questions that elucidate and illuminate that particular subject … to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.

An interview guide was also used, but additional questions could be asked. Corbetta (2003, p. 270) explains semi-structured interviews as follows:

> The order in which the various topics are dealt with and the wording of the questions are left to the interviewer's discretion. Within each topic, the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he thinks fit, to ask the questions he deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanation

and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt the list of key themes, issues, and questions to be covered.

I would often ask for an explanation of who or how or why a particular activity to reduce poverty was being carried out; as these key informants accepted me quite easily, they spoke without hesitation and responded to my requests for additional information and explanations of their perspectives concerning SMVP. I could ask additional questions, even those not anticipated at the beginning of the interview. However, note taking or tape recording during the interview was essential. This technique was particularly useful in Sauri because of the initial tightly arranged nature of my visits by the MVP Office in Kisumu.

Gatekeepers such as the local chief, village elders, and sector leaders were used to identify key informants in Sauri. A purposeful sample is also recommended when the potential sample is too large as was the case with Sauri (Creswell 2007; Marshall & Rossman 2011). The criteria for selecting the key informants were based on the belief that they were the most knowledgeable and involved with the SMVP. These key informants were men, women, young people, or opinion leaders who live in the SMVP communities. The intention for selecting them was because key informants were considered to be knowledgeable about the community and the SMVP programme being implemented. Specifically, these people had been the targets of the SMVP programme and had participated in some of the SMVP interventions in agriculture as farmers or non-agriculture small business enterprises, education and health.

4.4.4. Informal interviews and conversations

I used informal interviews and conversation as a method to bring out villagers' social realities without occupying their universe that could constrain my enquiry. During informal conversation, respondents could be more likely to discuss sensitive and painful experiences if they feel the interviewer is sympathetic and understanding. This method provides respondents time and opportunities to develop their answers, to feel at ease, and be more likely to open up and say what they really mean. Moreover, it gives the respondent the opportunity to take control, to define properties and direct the interview into areas, which they see as interesting and significant. These interviews can really explore the person's interests, beliefs and options without the limitation of pre-set questions. This can lead to new and important insights for more in-depth data.

Punch (1998) described informal interviews as a way to understand the complex behaviour of people without invading their space, which might limit the field of inquiry. Minichiello (1990) defined unstructured interviews as interviews in which neither the question nor the answer categories are predetermined. They rely on social interaction between the researcher

and informant to bring out information in an informal and relaxed atmosphere. Patton (1990) regarded informal interview and conversations as a natural extension of participant observation. He defined that the unstructured interview relies entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction, typically an interview that occurs as part of on-going participant observation fieldwork.

I collected important data through 45 informal conversations at two Barazas and markets attended by villagers, community leaders and government officials involved with the SMVP. These informal conversations often began with one individual and grew to include friends and neighbours, thus becoming informal group discussions. Informal conversations provided important insights into power structures and politics of SMVP, its implementation, effects and outcomes. In order to not disrupt the natural flow of conversation, the discussions were not audio recorded; however, I jotted information during these interviews and informal discussions, and I reviewed the content immediately after their conclusion, which assisted me in compiling comprehensive field notes.

4.4.5 Document analysis

In order to find information on multi- and bi-lateral national policies, programmes, implementation and progress on poverty reduction and the MDGs I relied heavily on documentary sources. Documentation is identified by Yin (2009) as a key method used in case studies. This can include the analysis of letters and other personal documents, administrative documents, news clippings, evaluations or other studies of the case. After the acquisition of extensive documentation (see Table 3.1: Data collection source, method/s and type), the documents were analysed in conjunction with the data that had been collected from group discussions, interviews and questionnaires. The analysis considered to be the most appropriate here has been the purposive selection of texts from the documents available on the basis of analytical criteria previously described (see Nachmias & Nachmias 1997, p. 598 for more discussion on this process). In other words, as Prior (1997) argues, documents provide representational messages as text where, in the process of analysis, ‘parts’ are purposefully and systematically selected. As Yin (2009) has identified, documents may sometimes be difficult to find, access may be deliberately withheld, and there may be selection bias (Yin, 2008). While the MDGs and MVP documents were publicly available, the others pertaining to the purported success of the SMVP were more difficult to source; I therefore relied on publicly accessible online information and from the fieldwork. Gathering, reviewing and interrogating these documents significantly helped me to compare and see the relevance of inputs from the villagers.

4.4.6 Field notes

Depending on the individual or group's activities and social issues I was investigating, I chose locations accordingly and made decisions whether or not to be open about my study as some people felt uncomfortable or acted differently when they knew they were being watched. I was quite discreet and protected my notes because field notes were documentation about what I witnessed which could include conflicts or gossip.

Table 4.3: Field notes matrix

	Impressions/ Intuition	Behavioural Non-verbal cues	Notes and Direct Quotes
1			
2			
3			

Date/Time:…….

Impressions of physical space/place:……..……..

Field notes represented a considerable part of the data I collected although more formal discussions and interviews were audio recorded. Field notes were handwritten rather than typed into a word processing programme as I found that handwriting observations allowed me to capture some interesting descriptions while on location. I also maintained a diary throughout the duration of my fieldwork in which I recorded personal impressions of my daily experiences as well as practices, areas for further inquiry, emergent themes. In an effort to demonstrate the validity of my interpretation, portions taken directly from my fieldwork notebooks are presented in the case two studies. However, I took the precaution to include them selectively to minimise the disruption to the larger body of work. I have not altered the field notes from their original format but they are visually stored apart from the rest of the text. I used the below format to jot my ethnographic observations.

4.5 Qualitative data management and analysis

There is no singularly appropriate way to conduct qualitative data analysis, although there is general agreement that analysis is an ongoing, iterative procedure that begins in the early stages of data collection and continues throughout the study. Qualitative data analysis, wherein one is making sense of the data collected, may seem particularly mysterious (Campbell & Gregor 2004). Data analysis has been carried out for this study in a manner

adapted from the work of Strauss (1987) and Miles and Huberman (1994), as presented in Figure 4.2 below, illustrating the circular dynamics of this process of qualitative data analysis. At the initial stages of the circular dynamics, the process of data analysis is carried out in a relatively open and exploratory manner, where three constructs are established and then adapted throughout the subsequent research process, namely experiential data, analytical framework, empirical data and theoretical/methodological literatures.

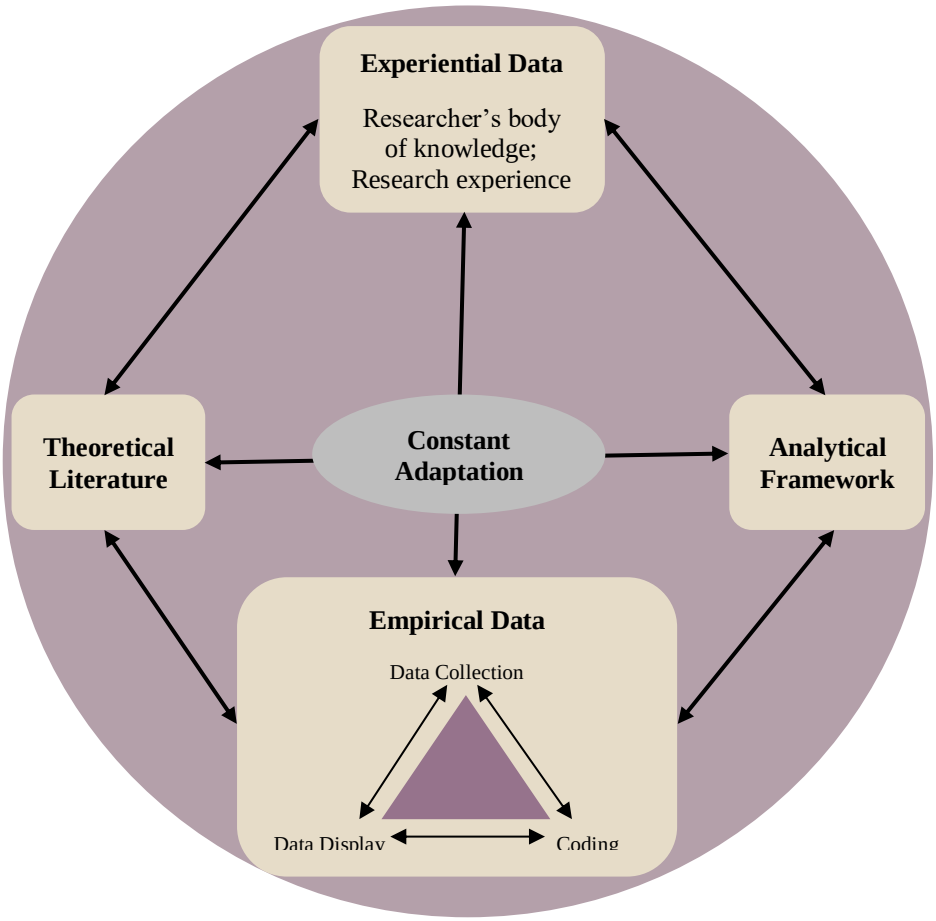

Figure 4.2: Circular dynamics of qualitative data analysis

Source: Adapted and redrawn from Strauss (1987) and Miles & Huberman (1994)

According to Strauss (1987), experiential data is that body of knowledge available to the researcher based on personal values resulting from the specific sociocultural and professional background, research experience, and theoretical and methodological knowledge from a review of relevant literature. In this study, such knowledge from the literature review as well as field research experience played the most important role whereas the researcher's body of knowledge based on his many years of professional experience with the United Nations can be regarded as a factor that might have influenced the research process.

The analytical framework in the study was developed from research objectives and research questions, in accordance with the relevant theoretical/methodological knowledge from a review of literature carried out for that purpose. The empirical data for this research is made up of mainly of documents, focus group discussions, semi-structured and informal interviews, questionnaire data, and observations together with notes from the fieldwork, as explained above. Here it is essential to remember that for this study, empirical data collection has been regarded as 'data making', as a selective process, guided by the particular research interests at hand, with the empirical data being consequently 'openly coded' (Strauss, 1987).

During the course of the fieldwork, I reviewed these notes regularly to separate sub-themes and uncover additional connections for further investigation. The data was organised, sorted and recorded in tables such as that presented below:

Table 4.4: Data management matrix

Date received	Code number	Type of data	Area data originated from
	1		
	2		
	3		

Systematic memos were constructed while in the field, allowing me to make thematic connections between data from observations, interviews, discussions and FGDs. After leaving the field, I worked within the pre-indexed categories to code, recode the data, and explore it in detail. I downloaded all interview voice files recorded on my Olympus DS-2200 digital voice recorder to my PC using Olympus DSS player software via USB. Where practical, it was stored on my PC including in two backups on external hard-drives.

In this research, photographs represent a record of what I saw, and sometimes, what participants thought was important for me to photograph. In this sense, photographs are treated factually. They helped me to describe field records and establish connections with participants. Photographs supplement the writing of field notes and remind me of particular places and events, and they are important because they locate the researcher within the data generation and interpretation process (Mason 2002). However, I also recognise that capturing 'reality' through photographing the field is highly problematic, especially in cross-cultural research where historical ethnographic use of photographic material has been criticised for its role in the reproduction of ideas about the 'exotic other', for example (Crang & Cook 2007).

Because photographed settings are socially constructed to begin with, I do not further construct my own meanings or interpretations from photographs. Rather, photographs are included in this thesis to illustrate key themes only, and have not been subjected to further interpretive analysis. All participants appearing in photographs gave their full consent (See Appendix C). I now turn to my position as a researcher.

4.6 The position of a researcher

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a reflexive journal may be used by researchers to help establish the credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability of their research. Despite criticism, Giddens (1991, 1994) suggests the notion of reflexivity is closely associated with qualitative methodological literature. Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (2004) suggest reflexivity is central to good research process and practice. While researchers have adapted reflexivity in varying ways, Geertz (1998) and Clifford and Marcus (1986) hold that, the researcher as author and 'social interaction' is of central importance. The data collected for this research was affected, as it was not possible for me to escape from my experience, history and social surroundings in relation to the research topic of foreign aid, poverty reduction and sustainable development in villages in Kenya.

I am a retiree from the UN with many years of professional interactions with other UN and development organizations. I have felt apprehension and been critical of the vast amounts of funds spent on the numerous conferences and publications that have accompanied the UN, WB, IMF and many development agencies' projects to end poverty — especially those enacted in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, I was aware of the limitations of many UN programmes. As both the respondents and the researcher are responsible for shaping the knowledge created, I was also aware of the impact of inequalities in power. This was especially the case in rural societies, both between different groups in Sauri and between researcher and respondents. Gender, age hierarchies, formal education versus popular knowledge, differences in socio-economic status and urban versus rural issues, were crucial to consider during the research project. After many years of working and living in Africa, I fully appreciate that power, politics and ethics must be managed carefully while carrying out research, and I ensured that the local gender balance was maintained in the research project especially as most households are managed by women and in many case single women. I was aware that the combination of my background and inclinations, the imperfect interactions I had with the villagers, and the method I used, may have resulted in a 'partial truth' (Clifford, 1986). The data was also impacted by what my respondents chose to share with me. While I endeavoured to understand the lived experiences of the villagers as a whole and as

individuals, I was always considered to some extent as an outsider. Nevertheless, this limited truth provides valuable insights into the kin structure, background, knowledge and economic/social/political practices that impact foreign aid, poverty and sustainable development in Kenya, and may generate future valuable debate.

4.7 Issues of reliability, validity and ethics of evaluation

4.7.1 Reliability

According to Patton (1987) the reliability and validity of qualitative data to a considerable extent is determined by the methodological skills, sensitivity and training of the researcher conducting the study. In this respect, the following clearly describes the responsibilities that are placed directly on most qualitative researchers:

> Most qualitative researchers work alone in the field. Each is a one person research machine: defining problems, doing the sampling, designing the instruments, collecting the information, reducing the information, analysing it, interpreting it, writing it up (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 262).

Reliability refers to the ability to replicate the research, where there are two principal forms of repetition, namely *temporal reliability* (the stability of research results over time) and *comparative reliability* (the stability of research results across researchers and/or cases). Since the case-study strategy has been adopted, it has not been deemed necessary to 'control' the reliability of the results of the research. However, in order to maintain reliability at an appropriate level, the following points have been implemented:

1. The role and status of the researcher at each site are described (Section 4.6).

2. Since the research is not open to replication of the observations or interpretations, triangulation[25] has been adopted in order to reduce as far as possible the possibility of avoidable bias. In addition, cases have been viewed from various complex perspectives of different stakeholder groups in order to report multiple interpretations of the cases.

Although it is probably an unachievable goal, especially in social science, to uncover completely and correctly, all aspects of a particular issue, it is nonetheless an important and desirable goal to attempt to be as reasonably accurate and comprehensive as others would regard possible.

[25] Triangulation refers to the use of multiple data source (e.g. persons, times, places); method (e.g. observation, interview, questionnaires, document analysis); researcher (e.g. investigator A, B); theoretical perspectives; and data type (qualitative text, recordings) for research on one issue in order to complement and verify the other, in order to strengthen research results (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 267).

> Qualitative studies take place in a real social world, and can have real consequences in people's lives; that there is a reasonable view of "what happened" in any particular situation … shared standards are worth striving for. (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 277)

4.7.2 Validity

Internal validity, that is to say, credibility, refers to the 'truth' value to the people involved and to readers. Maxwell (1992) distinguishes between four types of understanding in a qualitative study (cited in Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 278): *descriptive* (what happened in specific situations), *interpretive* (what it meant to the people involved), *theoretical* (concepts and their relationships employed to explain actions and meanings), and *evaluative* (judgments of the worth or value of actions and meanings). Bearing in mind these different types of understanding, in this study, the following measures with regard to validation have been taken in the research reported here in order to check data quality:

1. It is acknowledged that the environment or setting for data collection affects the quality of interview data and therefore the time for each interview was relatively long and conducted in informal settings, and reported first hand.

2. Appropriate parts of the draft of the study were scrutinised by informants to correct any factual errors and to provide feedback.

3. In order to maintain 'conformability' (Miles & Huberman 1994), methods and procedures have been described in detail in this chapter. Personal characteristics and perspectives of the researcher are expressly stated in order to reduce the possibility of interference based on personal bias (Section 4.6).

As to external validity, or the issue of transferability, three levels of generalisation are possible in theory: from *sample to population*; *analytic* (theory connected); and *case-to-case transfer* (Firestone 1993, cited in Miles & Huberman 1994). In the opinion of the researcher, the context of the SMVP case has been described in sufficient detail without over generalisation. Various theoretical insights were gained in the study such as in applying the actor-oriented approach in the evaluation.

4.7.3 Ethics of evaluation

With regard to the political aspects of the evaluation, in terms of both the political context and the political nature of the evaluation, 'ethics' are a very important element since it is possible that the process and/or the results of the evaluation could be contrary to the interests of particular groups of people. *Integrity/honesty* and *respect for people* throughout the evaluation process have been identified by the AEA (2004) as two of the five principles laid down for

evaluators. Where appropriate, open discussions and negotiations should be held regarding financial and operational matters as well as the limitations with regard to methodology, the projected scope of the results, and the eventual use of evaluation data. AEA (2004) suggests that it is primarily the responsibility of the evaluator to initiate such discussions and negotiations in order for these issues to be made explicit and clarified. Respect afforded to people refers to respect for the security, the sociocultural or religious values, the political circumstances together with the dignity and self-worth of various stakeholders.

To be ethical, being able to avoid unintentional harm to the people concerned in the research study is phrased as follows:

> Being ethical is a broad, evolving personal process that both resembles and is related to the process involved in becoming a competent social scientist. Ethical problems … are problems having to do with unanticipated conflicts of obligation and interest and with unintended harmful side effects of evaluation. To be ethical is to evolve an ability to anticipate and circumvent such problems. It is an acquired ability (Sieber 1980, p. 53, cited in Worthen & Sanders 1987, p. 292)

Efforts should be made to deepen and broaden understanding, in a comprehensive manner, of the key features of the context for an evaluation based on these ethical principles. As stated earlier, evaluation is always to some extent political and value-laden, and there is always the danger that a study such as the present one might inadvertently become involved in controversial relational issues or value conflict issues. Therefore, every effort has been made here to ensure anonymity as far as this is feasible. In addition, there have been a number of marginal findings that are of research interest but are not reported in the study in order not to endanger the integrity of the people involved.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has charted the development of a methodology appropriate for the analysis of the issues related to the present study. It explained the selection of an appropriate paradigm (constructivist), which includes relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology and an interpretive-naturalistic set of methodological procedures, with case study strategy. The study acknowledges that multiple socially-constructed realities are always relative, and can only be interpreted through subjective interactions between researcher and participant (Guba & Lincoln 1994); that is, that all findings are the result of a creative process of finding consensus between the constructions of the researcher and the researched (Guba & Lincoln 1994). The theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues covered in this chapter are explicitly and/or implicitly used in the remainder of this study, in order to gain a better understanding, evaluation and analysis of the SMVP that is the subject of the research reported in this study.

Mixed methods of data generation and analysis allowed for comparison, as well as opening up spaces for diverse voices and interpretations to become part of the broader critique of foreign aid, poverty and sustainability at village level. In addition, while not without its limitations, this methodology has provided me with a wealth of legitimate, valid and reliable qualitative data with which to explore the theoretical research questions driving this study. The remainder of the thesis explores this data – at theoretical and practical levels, with particular focus on the processes of implementing this approach, its effects and outcomes, voices of the villagers, understanding the experiences and those engaged in, or affected by the MVP – through the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5: SAURI POWER STRUCTURES AND THE MILLENNIUM VILLAGE PROJECT

Chapter 4 outlined the development of a methodology appropriate for the analysis of the issues related to the present study with particular focus on the processes of implementing this approach, its effects and outcomes, voices of the villagers, understanding the experiences and those engaged in, or affected by the MVP. This chapter aims to understand Sauri power structures for analysing processes of SMVP approach and implementation, its effects and outcomes important for analysis of existing capacities of villagers to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the level of services delivered through SMVP; and MVP including past development interventions and impact; and the MVP 'big push' model.

The idea that local people and their structures are best placed to address local problems is widely accepted. (Brick 2007) argues that local organisations and people receive far less attention despite their prowess in maintaining local order. Local networks, organisation and family structures can be a most versatile and dynamic source and form the basis of foreign aid organisations' ability to know and learn. Yet we seldom understand this truism in terms of the communities through which individuals develop and share the capacity to create and use knowledge (Wegner 2014). Wegner (2014, p.23) argues:

> Community practices and methods develop around things that matter to people. As a result, their practices reflect the members' own understanding of what is important. Obviously, outside constraints or directives can influence this understanding, but even then, members develop practices that are their own response to these external influences. Even when a community's actions conform to an external mandate, it is the community – not the mandate – that produces the practice. In this sense, communities of practice are fundamentally self-organizing systems.

Rural community development is important in developing countries where a substantial part of the population is engaged in farming. As a result, a range of community development methods have been constructed and used by organisations involved in foreign aid and development. All of these efforts to advance rural community development are led by foreign 'experts' as is the case with MVP, staff of foreign non-governmental organisations and advisers. This has led to a long debate about the issue of knowledge of local family structures and social networks for meaningful involvement. Questions have been raised about the existing capacities to operate, maintain and sustain benefits and maintain the levels of services delivered through projects such as MVP and the extent to which rural people are involved – and are/not – being empowered to make decisions for them.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to explore power structures operating in Sauri, past development and the concept of MVP at the time the research was being conducted. It is important to understand the primary structures that have an impact on implementation and outcomes of the SMVP, which is the focus of Chapter 5. The traditional structure that existed prior to the MVP, focused on the use of family structures and networks for any development in Sauri. In order to understand the implementation and outcomes of SMVP, which is the focus of chapter 5, it is important to understand the basic structures associated with the villagers prior to the MVP interventions. The first section of this chapter presents family administration and power structures. The second section of this chapter is a discussion on MVP and critique of the MVP applied as the 'Big Push' model in the Sauri Millennium Village.

5.1 Family administration and power structures in Sauri

In this section, I focus on the Luo people kinship and residence; land tenure and agriculture and local administration and power structures in Sauri, important for understanding and implementation of MVP foreign aid development intervention discussed in Chapter 6. An understanding of the structures is important to utilise community networks in the dissemination of information and in accessing resources needed for community development. Furthermore, to ensure development cooperation, knowledge and understanding of basic concepts relating to the relationship between individual and community, social position and hierarchy, are required, including how individuals understand themselves, what is meaningful for them and how their social structure is formed in the traditional context.

5.1.1 The Luo people: kinship and residence; land tenure and agriculture

The Luo people, who occupy the Lake Victoria region, being the research site of SMVP, also called Jaluo and Joluo, are a distinct ethnic group in Kenya, Eastern Uganda and Northern Tanzania. They are part of a larger group of ethno-linguistically related Luo peoples, who inhabit an area including Southern Sudan, Northern and Eastern Uganda, Western Kenya and Northern Tanzania. According to a Kenyan historian, Bethwell Ogot (1967, p. 3), the Luo and other Kenyan Nilotic tribes originated from the Nile regions of Sudan, entering Kenya over the past 500 years through Northern Uganda. Upon their arrival in Kenya, Luos settled in the [now] most densely populated Nyanza Province, where they neighbour to the Kisii, Luhya and Kipsigis tribes. According to Dia (1997), their basic unit of production and consumption was, and is, the extended family.

The pervading source of power is seniority. 'Age conferred superior knowledge of the environment, therefore, control over women and over young men' (Ochieng 1989, p. 12).

Soja (1968, p. 8) suggests, 'Before the arrival of Europeans, the patterns of settlement, population density and relative power were flexible and closely associated with environmental and cultural restrictions and the complex interplay between pastoralist and agriculturalist'. By the time colonisers arrived (Ochieng 2007, pp. 51–55), the Luo had a well-integrated society with a king. The present day Kenyan Luo in practice consists of 25 sub-groups, each in turn composed of various clans and sub-clans such as the Jo-Gem, Jo-Yimbo, Jo-Ugenya, Jo-Seme, Jo-Kajulu, Jo-Karachuonyo, Jo-Nyakach, Jo-Kabondo, Jo-Kisumo (or Jo-Kisumu), Jo-Kano, Jo-Asembo, Jo-Alego, Jo-Uyoma, Jo-Sakwa, Jo-Kanyamkago, Jo-Kadem, Jo-Kwabwai, Jo-Karungu, Abasuba (including the Jo-Suna, Jo-Gwassi, Kaksingri), Jo-Kasgunga, Jo-Kanyamwa, Jo-Kanyada, Jo-Kanyidoto, Jo-Kamgundho and the Jo-Kamagambo. 'Jo-' here indicates 'people of' as explained in Figure 5.1.

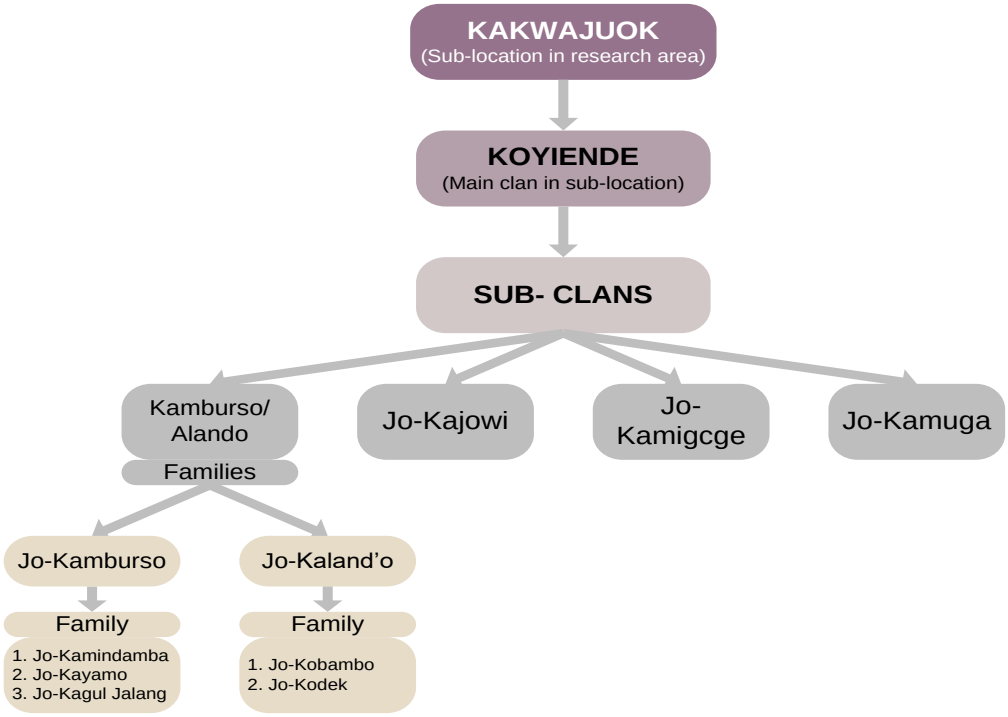

Figure 5.1: Typical clan systems in Luo ethnic groups

('Jo' means a person of that particular sub-clan).

Source: Author's diagram constructed based on fieldwork interviews.

5.1.1.1 Luo kinship and residence

Luo kinship and residence, described below, is typical in rural areas but there are exceptions due to the changing dynamics of society. Luo social relations are organised according to specific principles of kinship and include prescribed customary gender and age roles. Descent is patrilineal (traced through the male line) which means, in theory, the father is the undisputed head of the family and his authority is the law within the family. For the most part, women defer to male authority. However, the mother in a family is the primary decision

maker in domestic matters. 'Her roles include: caring for children, the homestead, utensils, *shambas* (fields) and feeding the family with the assistance of her daughters' (Mwaniki, 1985: 51). Family structure is hierarchical, with family members respecting and obeying older members. Grandparents act as family advisers and take care of their grandchildren while mothers work in the fields during the day.

Among the Luo, it takes over five to seven generations of a family to form a clan (see Figure 5.2). According to Ogot & Ochieng (1995), the elders of an existing generation are the people who decide when to form a clan out of the existing generations. When the main clan becomes too big, sub-clans are formed for better management. However, they continue to depend on the main clan for leadership and guidance. The extended family may be in the form of a monogamous, extended joint-family or a polygamous extended family. The monogamous, extended joint-family consists of two or more nuclear families linked through parent-child or sibling relationships and is often characterised by common residence, accompanied by various shared socio-economic obligations. Lauras-Lecoh (1990, p. 489) suggests 'The family as a unit of production, consumption, reproduction, and accumulation, has been profoundly impacted by the economic downturns that transformed the environment in which families make their decisions'. These wide-ranging socio-political and economic environments provide a context for understanding changes in Sauri kinship structures. Beneficial prospects have arisen from considerable socio-economic changes that continue to alter the structure of the family away from traditional patterns to new ones, generated by the expansion of poverty alleviation, education, health programmes. However, the same forces that bring about noteworthy outlooks for families have also produced multiple constraints. Sauri families are embedded in political and socio-economic circumstances that are characterised by long-standing domestic dynamics of economic fragility, debilitating poverty and poor governance. For example, throughout the 1990s, the scourge of HIV/AIDS put additional pressures on the sustainability of families and households. According to Lauras-Lecoh (1990), another factor that is undermining poverty, education and health in kinship-based family structures in villages is the prevalence of single parenthood, particularly among young females. As explained by Odiambo after a meal in his rural Luo house:

> The husband maintains a house for himself near the centre of the compound. His brothers, if they have not yet formed their own homesteads, reside on the edge of the compound. As Luo become wealthy in Luo-land or elsewhere, it is common for them to build a large house for their parents. This is especially necessary if she is a first wife, as it is considered improper for younger wives to have larger homes than senior wife. Subsequent wives have homes alternatively to her right and left in the order of their marriage. Once the sons are married, their father provides them with homes adjacent to the main gate of the compound in the order of their birth.

Figure 5.2 is a schematic based on Odiambo's explanation and observations.

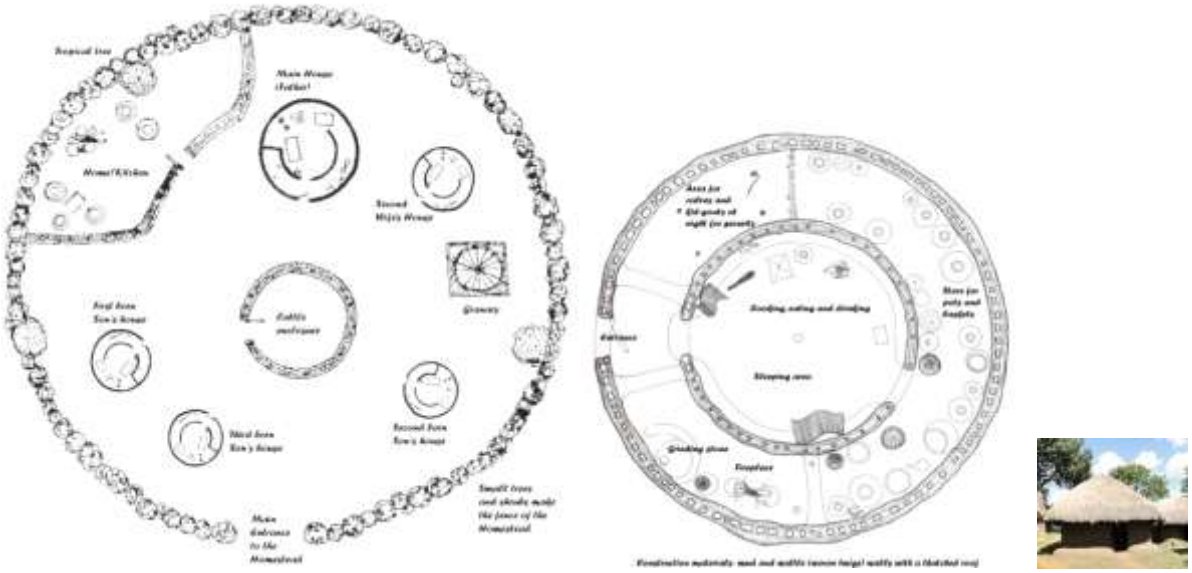

Figure 5.2: Plan of a Luo homestead (left) and house

Source: Diagram of Luo homestead and house constructed based on Mr. Odiambo's detailed description.

Residents of Sauri occupy several different types of rural houses. A common house is made of mud and wattle (woven twigs) walls with a thatched roof. Another house style includes mud and wattle walls with a roof made of corrugated metal. A more elaborate, permanent house has brick walls and a roof covered with iron sheets or tiles. Bricks, iron sheets and tiles are all items of prestige and their ownership symbolises success in farming, animal husbandry or a modern occupation such as teaching, religious ministry or shop keeping. Homes vary in shape as well as size. Some homes of the old variety are circular. Those with materials that are more permanent tend to be rectangular. A prosperous man who is the head of a large extended family may have several wives whose homes are situated by their rank within a large circular homestead (see Figure 5.2 Homestead).

On entering a typical double-walled Luo house, a passage opens to the left and right. A low wall, raised from the floor, marks the entrance area from right to left passages. Immediately to the right, is the grinding stone, firmly embedded in a clay foundation. At the lower end of the grinding stone is a clay trough for collecting freshly ground floor. Next to the grinding stone, two stones in a shallow depression define the fireplace. Another low wall divides the cooking area from the storage area in which a large number of pots and baskets are stored. To the left of the entrance is an area for keeping calves and kid-goats at night for security. Chickens wander freely. The central room, in which the bed is an integral part of the floor, is for sleeping. Along the entire wall of the inner chamber, there is a raised trough, used to store

pots for cooking, eating and drinking. Land is an important component of the homestead. In Kenya, 80% of the population still lives in rural areas, dependent on farm income (Tropical Clinics 2008: 5). From this position, contemplated agricultural development policies have a direct impact on the majority of the people. Access to land is the basic prerequisite for agricultural production and land policies are critical for agricultural development strategies.

My research revealed that Luo females and males are disproportionately engaged in a range of activities in the Sauri Millennium Village, thus hindering women from involvement in poverty alleviation activities. Women perform more work than men, with tasks divided as follows:[26] Harvesting (Female 92% and Male 48%); selling bananas (Female 80% and Male 25%); growing vegetables (Female 93% and Male 8%); fertilising (Female 88% and Male 43%); fetching fodder (Female 98% and Male 30%); cleaning animal sheds (Female 100% and Male 15%); milking goat/cattle (Female 98% and Male 10%); selling milk (Female 98% and Male 8%); fetching water (Female 100% and Male 15%); fetching fuel wood (Female 95% and Male 20%); family cooking (Female 100% and Male 3%); and washing dishes (Female 98% and Male 3%).

Fieldwork observations revealed that at the village level, Luo women provide labour for the bulk of the domestic work and some in the field on a regular basis. The research revealed that women are fully involved in each household activity (95–100%). The major part of their time is spent in cooking and fetching water and fuel wood. Men participate mainly in childcare and washing the family clothes, but only 50–58% of men are actively involved. Men also take part in childcare when a child falls sick and the spouse is not around. However, the roles are reversed when planting bananas, maize and trees as indicated in Table 5.1.

The figures reveal that there is a clear division of labour between Luo female and male activities in Sauri (and, by extension, in rural Kenya). Women look after most of the domestic activities including growing and harvesting vegetables, while men do all the buying, planting and maintenance of their fields including the selling of livestock. Male practical work surveyed covered both crop and livestock production activities. The activities studied were land preparation, ploughing, planting/sowing, weeding, harvesting, processing and selling. The analysis showed that activities in land preparation, ploughing and home gardens are a shared activity**.** Various activities connected with crop and land management and agronomic

[26]These numbers do not sum to 100% because some of the activities are shared.

practices are gender segregated, with no participation by women in buying pesticides or spraying crops,—these were considered male activities. Apart from outdoor grazing, not a popular activity in Sauri Millennium Village due to the shortage of grazing land, most livestock activities were performed by women; for example, fetching fodder, cutting and selling banana leaves and stems for animals and milking. While the selling of excess milk was regarded women's work, treating and selling livestock was the men's responsibility.

Table 5.1: Division of labour by activities in Sauri (2010) (43 households)

Planting Bananas, Maize and Trees (per cent)			**Collective Activities** (per cent)		
	M	**F**		**M**	**F**
Buying fertilisers	93	7	Land preparation	73	100
Buying pesticides	100	0	Ploughing	93	93
Spraying	100	0	Planting and sowing	83	90
Furrow irrigation	81	19	Harvesting maize, banana, beans	33	100
Selling livestock	84	16	Processing maize	90	100
Furrow construction	100	0	Processing beans	100	58
Furrow maintenance	100	0	Putting fertilisers	78	83
Road construction	100	0	Treating animals	53	98
Road maintenance	100	0	Fishing and goat farming	100	90
			Childcare	58	100
			Washing clothes	50	100
			Church activities	98	95
			School activities	100	60

Source: Fieldwork interviews analysis.

The findings indicate that the interventions in Sauri are targeted at both Luo men and Luo women and that, while both sexes have access to such resources as land (limited), labour, food and commercial crops, these are essentially controlled by men, except when households are headed by single women. Male adults and elders have control over such major inputs of productive resources as land, time, money and tools. Women have some control over labour, although men dictate duties in the household. According to Omveri (22 November 2009, p.5):

> In spite of the MVP gender-related interventions, significant gender disparity in controlling resources in food and commercial crops is still dominated by men. Whereas men have complete control over commercial crops marketing, they also exercise overwhelming control over commercial crop proceeds. The purchasing of major inputs is by men.

As far as access to and control of benefits is concerned, both men and women have access to benefits, but control is predominantly vested in men. This section has revealed that at the village level there is a clear division of labour between female and male activities. Women

provide labour for the bulk of the domestic work and some in the field on a regular basis while men deal with financial matters, control land, labour, food and commercial crops – as outlined above.

5.1.1.2 Land tenure and agriculture

In Kenya, there are three categories of land: public land, private land (in predominantly urban areas), and 'trust' land (recently renamed 'community' land in the 2010 Land Policy, endorsed in Kenya's new Constitution, 2011). 'Trust' or 'community' land, discussed in Chapter 1, was established under the British colonialists who placed community common lands 'in trust' under County Councils. However, there have been problems with this approach and those who have lived on trust land for generations have often found that they cannot assert any rights to this land when decisions about its use or allocation are made. Under the new Land Policy, 'community land' (previously called 'trust' land) will be demarcated and its title allocated to a particular community group. Within this framework, communities have been able to strengthen their rights to land and resources through the development of by-laws based on documented customary management systems and institutions, which are given legal backing at the County level. This has enabled a re-strengthening of customary mechanisms of rangeland management including across traditional grazing areas. The Luo in Nyanza Province retain a customary system of land tenure by inheritance and in some cases by purchase. Land area per household for farming in Sauri is around 0.6 hectares, which is generally insufficient to support an average family (MVP 2007).

Agricultural extension[27] services are given a central place in the development of the small farm sector. However, a bias towards more 'progressive' and/or wealthier farmers in rural communities raises another question: does agriculture extension create poverty in Nyanza? A study of the Tetu Special Rural Development Programme in Nyanza Province revealed that agriculture extension agents seem to approach and provide extension advice to only the rich top 10% of farmers in the rural areas, with less progressive farmers rarely approached by agriculture extension agents (Sessional Paper No. 10, 1992, p. 37). One of the farmers in Sauri, Mr Odhiambo, who has been affected by the bias of the extension workers during an interview on 23 February 2010 said:

> More credit facilities have tended to go to farmers who are already rich while poverty-stricken farmers like him are ignored. The rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few progressive farmers

[27] Agricultural extension is a general term meaning the application of scientific research and new knowledge to agricultural practices through farmer education. The importance of agricultural extension in relation to the fight against poverty has been underscored in the Strategy to Revitalize Agriculture (SRA) (Republic of Kenya 2004).

> has increased the gap between the rich and poverty-stricken in the village, further frustrating successful implementation of the Millennium Project. The land tenure situation in most small-holder farming areas in Sauri is so insecure that politicians and bureaucrats wield considerable power and influence on land issues.

The fact that villagers' traditional land is still viewed as state land has allowed political interference in its management, administration and legal interpretation of rights over the land and the water that flows on that land. It can be argued, therefore, that land tenure reforms which give traditional land users both communal and individual ownership rights, are essential in creating an effective environment for poverty alleviation and implementation of the MVP. In this way, communities are able to exercise choice, be innovative in protecting their property rights and safeguard their economic interests for a sustainable future. MDGs/MVP is silent on land tenure issues.

5.1.2 Local administration and power structures in Sauri

At the time of the fieldwork (2009 and 2010), local administration in Kenya was divided among eight provinces, including the seven rural provinces of Western, Nyanza, Rift Valley, Central, Eastern, Coast and North-eastern and the city of Nairobi. The provinces (*Mkoa*), subdivided into 46 districts (*Wilaya*), are further subdivided into 262 divisions (*Tarafa*). These divisions are also subdivided, into 2,427 locations and subsequently 6,612 sub-locations (*Kijiji*). Kenyan local authorities tend not to follow common boundaries with divisions. They are classified as city, municipality, town or county councils. Further, constituencies, often comprising a group of neighbouring towns or villages, represent another discrete type of classification, which is then subdivided into wards. With the promulgation of the new constitution on 27 August 2010, the administration of the eight provinces was divided into 47 counties to be implemented in 2013 – the rationale being for better administration and to decentralise power. Furthermore, this allows the counties to determine their own livelihoods and development, which is important for Sauri. The implementation and logistics of the new Constitution will become operational over time.

5.1.2.1 Local administration

For effectively implement MVP interventions, it is important to understand the traditional and local power hierarchies in Sauri. The more traditional administrative structure that existed prior to the MVP, illustrated in Figure 5.3, focused on traditional procedures used for national policies and projects for community development projects and served to resolve citizen complaints – ranging from land boundary disputes, domestic disputes, to petty or major thefts. In a meeting with the Nyanza Provincial Commissioner (PC), he explained to me the administration of the province:

The PC heads the Province. A District Commissioner (DC) heads a district and a District Officer (DO) heads a division. A Chief heads a location and an Assistant Chief heads a sub-location. The provincial administrator is the main link between the government and the people. Within the provincial administration, the PC is the most senior government officer.

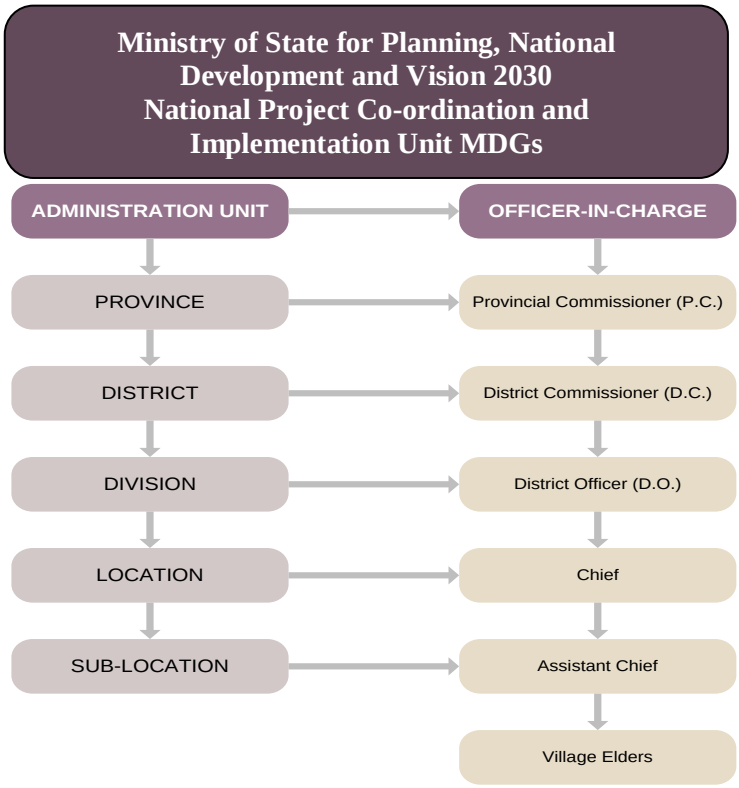

Figure 5.3: Traditional administration structure in Sauri

Source: Author's diagram from fieldwork observation

The PC represents the President in the province to maintain law and order, security and intelligence. He or she coordinates all development activities; chairs all provincial committees on development, procurement, land control boards, education and NGOs; and interprets and educates the provincial staff on government policy as illustrated in Figure 5.3. The DC is the presidentially appointed head of the administration at the district level. He or she is the President's personal representative, but works directly under the PC. The DC supervises and coordinates all administration; chairs all development activities in the district; and is a member of the District County Council, responsible for ensuring that the Council carries out its duties. The DC controls several DOs who perform similar duties to those of the DC, working at division level to ensure that the Chiefs in the division perform their duties. The Public Service Commission appoints DOs.

The Public Service Commission also appoints a Chief from each local community to administer a location, encourage development projects, maintain law and order and settle minor disputes between people in the location. The Chief chairs the Vocational Development

Committee and mobilises people in his or her location to participate in public works, road building or maintenance and environmental conservation. Similarly, the Public Service Commission appoints Assistant Chiefs to manage their sub-locations and assist the Chief in his or her duties. The Chief and Assistant Chief appoint village elders to assist the Assistant Chief. However, these village elders are not on the government payroll and therefore not part of the Kenyan constitution. Village elders must be residents of the village. Their duties include mobilising the villagers for communal work; developing rural access roads; soil conservation; enlightening villagers about government policies; and assisting the Chief to maintain law and order as well as general hygiene in the sub-location. An understanding of local cultures, power dynamics and networks is important for implementation of all development projects such as the MVP. Munk (2013) argues MVP has a basic flaw because it is developed by academics living far away from the subject areas and with a poor understanding of local cultures. The next section is a synopsis of past development interventions in Sauri and impacts important for comparison with the MVP.

5.2 Past development interventions and MVP

As discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, Kenya has implemented a number of poverty reduction interventions under DFRD, PRSP, CDF and currently KV2030 in agriculture, livestock production, fisheries, trade and industry, physical infrastructure and environment. As part of the KV2030, intervention packages have been prepared for Nyanza Province that is the location of SMVP. The Nyanza District Development Plan 2008–2012 (DDP), prepared by the Office of the Prime Minister was launched simultaneously with the KV2030 and its five-year implementation framework in Nyanza. During an interview with the Permanent Secretary, Mr Sambili, the Minister stated that the KV2030 DDPs ‘will be instrumental for the actualising of the desired aspirations contained in key national development blueprints and our affirmations to international ideals [UN] espoused in the MDGs at local level’. He further stated that it was his firm belief that this would ultimately lead to realising a high quality of life for all Kenyans, including people in rural villages. Indeed, KV2030 is complementary to the MDGs; however, currently, KV2030 and the MDGs implementation plans exist mostly at the policy level, due to a lack of financial and human resources.

Nyanza Province is now the focus of much MDG-related attention, and has attracted a multiplicity of projects, aligned to the KV2030 programmes. According to the Nyanza District Development Plan 2008–2012, the Kenya Government has been implementing projects in line with the Kenya Vision 2030 and MDGs in nine major sectors: agriculture and rural development; trade, tourism and industry; physical infrastructure; environment, water

and sanitation; human resource development; research innovation and technology; governance, justice, law and order; public administration; and special programmes. The agriculture sector contributes to 75% of household incomes in the province, encompassing agriculture, livestock and fisheries. The main food crops grown include maize, cassava and sorghum. Zebu cattle, sheep and goats are the main livestock kept in the district. Trade, tourism and industry sectors are not well developed in the province, although planners and politicians alike believe that these sectors provide great potential and opportunity for absorbing approximately 40% of the province's labour force (MPND 2009). Similarly, development of physical infrastructure, environment, water and sanitation, in the province, is below national levels. The existing network of roads in the province, some of them constructed 40 to 50 years ago, before independence, are not regularly maintained and are a hindrance to the marketing of agricultural produce and the general development of the region. Roads and electrification are critical to facilitating and accelerating both on-farm and off-farm production activities. A summary of the on-going and new projects is provided in Appendix E. Nonetheless, it is important to briefly discuss two development interventions and thus to understand some of the challenges, associated with the New Rice for Africa and the Nyando Tea Production projects, both implemented for the attainment of MDGs.

While the majority of the agricultural initiatives focus on poverty reduction, their outcomes have been mixed. The only exception are the horticultural farming projects, introduced in the 1990s, which have benefited farm workers and overcome extreme poverty but with little trickle-down effect to positively affect agriculture. For example, the New Rice for Africa (NERICA) Project is about a new and adaptive higher yielding and early maturing rice variety. It is more responsive to the plant nutrients that the Sustainable Agriculture Centre for Research and Development (SACRED) Africa has introduced in the Western Province of Kenya, specifically among the farmers in Siaya. This variety of rice is rain-fed and can grow in wetlands and swampy areas. The rice project is being undertaken through collaborative efforts involving the Japan International Cooperation Agency and the Kenyan Agricultural Research Institute.

The NERICA project is being piloted with the collaborative support of 150 farmers. Depending on the success of the trials, this project will expand to other communities if there is demand. The main purpose of this pilot project is to enable SACRED Africa to fulfil its main aim; that is to facilitate the empowerment of women and to diversify food production and increase levels of income. Unfortunately, it is reported that the Nyanza Province's rain-fed rice project had very little impact on poverty, first because only a small proportion of the approved funds were disbursed to farmers (KShs16.7 million, compared to a budget of over

KShs500 million). Second, the project could not sustain itself financially. Last, the rice mill rarely operated. The horticulture and conventional crops project was terminated prematurely within five years of operation. Because of this premature termination, the project did not have any income-improving effect for workers, some living in extreme poverty. The analysis of other projects produces similar outcomes.

The other example is the Nyando Tea Production Uriri Project, which has been rated highly by the Kenyan Government in terms of sustainability and fulfilment of its KV2030 objectives. However, my fieldwork has revealed that its impact on poverty has been insignificant. Of the 350 pilot demonstration tea projects and the proposed training of 7,500 farmers, only interim training has taken place, mainly due to a lack of funding. The tea project was reported to have created employment opportunities in 2000 with the project having employed a total of 400 permanent employees and 5,000 regular casual workers. According to an interview the project manager:

> The communities were being assisted to improve livelihoods, construct better dwellings, send children to school and initiate other commercial projects. However, these benefits were principally channelled to those fortunate enough to receive employment on the plantations. Benefits were disproportionate and lacked any accountability and transparency. Benefits may have been distributed to assist some people and disadvantage others, which could be caused by corrupt actions.

No attempts seemed to have been made to assess the proportion of the community that was not benefiting, or to make efforts to improve production, technological transfers or tree planting in the surrounding smallholder farms. The Tea Production Uriri Project, though successful from the project implementer's point of view, has had very limited impact on the development of the community and attainment of Goal 1 in the MDGs, due to the small scale of the project. For the reliable evaluation of MVP interventions, it is important to have baseline indicators related to the context of MVP, summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Summary of baseline indicators (SMV)

Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty	
Target 1: Between 1990 and 2015, halve the proportion of people living on $1 per day	
1. Proportion of population below $1 per day	79% live below $1 per day 89.5% live below $2 per day
2. Poverty gap proportion	54.5%
3. Share of poorest quintile in national (village*) consumption	2%
Target 2: Between 1990 and 2015, halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger	
4. Prevalence of underweight children under 5 years of age	17% underweight 7% severely underweight
5. Proportion of population below minimum dietary energy consumption	80%
Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education	

Target 3: Ensure completion of primary course by all children by the year 2015	
6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education	84.6% (Kenya = 76%) for primary school 19.2% (Kenya = 40%) for secondary school
7. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5	63.6% by age 12–14 years 89% by age 18 years
8. Literacy rate of 15–24 year olds	95.3% (self-reported)
Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women	
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education and preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015	
9. Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education	Primary – 99.1:100 Secondary – 86.7:100 Tertiary – 64.8:100
10. Ratio of literate women to men aged 15–24 years old	0.94 (self-reported) (Kenya=99%)
11.Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector	Forthcoming
12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	Forthcoming
Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality	
Target 5: Reduce the under-five child mortality by ⅔ between 1990 and 2015	
13. Under five child mortality rate	149/1,000 live births (1999–2003)
14. Infant mortality rates	95 per 1,000 live births (1999–2003)
15. Proportion of 1 year old children immunised against measles	Proxy: 67.1% of children with vaccination cards received measles vaccination
* Proportion of children under 5 testing positive for malaria	66% of boys 60% of girls
* Proportion of children aged 2–4 testing positive for intestinal helminthic infection	48%
* Proportion of mothers adding sugar or other liquids to infant feed	68%
Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health	
Target 6: Reduce by ¾ the maternal mortality ratio between 1990 and 2015	
16. Maternal mortality ratio	Not measured
* Proportion of reproductive-age women (15–49) using a method of contraception	28%
* Proportion of unwanted pregnancies per child bearing woman	1:3
* Proportion of women receiving adequate antenatal care (4 visits per pregnancy from a skilled provider	18.1%
17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel	51.8%
* Proportion of women reporting pregnancy complication	49%
* Proportion of women with access to emergency obstetric care	0%
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases	
Target 7: Halt and reverse the spread of HIV AIDS by 2015	
18. HIV prevalence among pregnant women aged 15–24 years	Proxy: 30% of women tested during ante-natal care at Yala Sub District Hospital tested positive
19. Condom use rate of all contraceptives used	Male condoms account for 32% of overall contraceptive use
19a. Condom use at last high-risk sex	45.5% at last sex (not high-risk)
19b. % of population 15–24 with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS	38%
19c. Contraceptive prevalence rate	28% of reproductive age women are currently using a form of contraception

20. Ratio of school attendance of orphans to attendance of non-orphans 10–14 yrs.	0.98:1
* Number of people using Anti-Retroviral Treatment	5
21. Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria	55% prevalence in population sampled
22. % of population in malaria risk areas using effective preventative measures.	21% of households own at least one malaria bed net; 53% of malaria bed nets had been re-treated with insecticide when purchased
23. Prevalence and death rates associated with TB	Prevalence: 943 per 100,000 Mortality: 171 per 100,000
24. % of TB cases detected and cured under recommended TB control strategy DOTS	35%
* Prevalence of Soil-Transmitted Helminthic in pre-school children (2–4 yrs.), school going children (9–10), and reproductive age women (15–49)	48% in children age 2–4 yrs 80% in children age 9–10 75% in women 15–49
* Prevalence of anaemia	64% overall 76% in children under 5 years
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	
Target 8: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources Target 9: Halve the % of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	
25. % of land area covered by forest	1–5%
26. Ratio of area protected to maintain biodiversity to surface area	0%
27. Energy use per $1,000 equivalent GDP	113 kgoe/$1000 GDP(PPP) per household
28. Carbon dioxide emissions per capita and consumption of CFCs	Not measured
29. % of population using solid fuels	99%
30. % of population with sustainable access to an improved water source	46.6% obtain adequate amounts of water at a reasonable distance
31. % of population with access to improved sanitation	13.9% excluding earthen floor latrines 85.4% including earthen floor latrines

Additional indicators, denoted by an asterisk (*), are used to supplement the original MDG indicators.
Source: Earth Institute, Baseline Report 2007.

In conclusion, in line with KV2030's aim of improving the quality of life for all, the Nyanza Provincial Government continues to mainstream the MDGs into its planning, budgeting and implementation. In this way, KV2030 and its implementations are contributing to reduction of poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women, the reduction of child mortality, improvement of maternal health, reduction of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other disease prevalence in the province, environmental sustainability and development of global partnerships. However, while researching the area to find evidence of KV2030 policy, it became evident that there is a lack of synergy between the KV2030 policy and its implementation at the local level. For example, while interviewing the DC, he was unable to show any evidence of achievements of projects except in the form of policy documents. He then referred me to a junior official who was even less informed about the achievements and results of projects implemented under

KV2030. However, the officers identified a number of major challenges to achieving the MDGs in Nyanza Province. Some of these challenges included poor infrastructure, lack of or inefficient marketing systems for farmers, lack of credit facilities for the poor, governance problems and lack of community participation and the rising number of orphans. The later challenge has resulted in the establishment of many orphanages and foster homes in Nyanza Province, most of which have no sustainable funding. For example, AIDS orphans often end up losing opportunities in education and health care without families to care for them. This problem has had an adverse effect on agriculture and other income-generating activities, including loss of skilled and unskilled labour supply and a consequent loss of income for workers and families (ILO 2006). These factors created grounds for MVP intervention discussed next.

A discussion of poverty, sustainability and foreign aid in Chapter 3 provided a clue as to what constitutes the relationship between the development industry crisis over the last fifty years or so. Danner (2012, p. 1) suggests that:

> The crisis may be strongly denied by politicians on both sides, by Kenyan politicians because they grossly benefit from inflowing money and by donors because they have their political interests and bureaucratic obligation to keep the development machine moving.

However, there is general agreement by post-development scholars to the contrary. In spite of all criticism, some representatives of the West – in the case of the MDGs promoters – insist that 'we have to help' considering the poverty and misery in Kenya – hence the MVP – the focus of this section. The socio-economic, ecological and agricultural backdrops of the MVP were discussed in Chapter 2, sub-section 3.1.1; therefore, this current section is a discussion of the MVP approach.

The MVP is a project of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, the United Nations Development Programme, and Millennium Promise. It is an approach to ending extreme poverty and meeting the MDGs.–.to address the problems of poverty, education and health. The MVP aims to promote an integrated approach to rural development to ensure that communities living in extreme poverty have a real, sustainable opportunity to lift themselves out of the poverty trap (Sachs 2005). Jeffrey Sachs, Earth Institute Director is the champion of the MVP concept and the big push approach. Sachs' big push approach towards economic development argues that poor countries are caught in poverty traps and need large-scale interventions in terms of increased aid and investment to be able to increase their income (Easterly 2006; Sachs 2005). From this perspective, massive foreign aid is needed to break the

vicious cycle of poverty, enhance productivity and induce self-sustained growth (Dollar & Easterly 1999; Easterly 2003; Ericson 2005; Sachs 2005; Sachs et al. 2004).

5.3 Discussion

The MVP has been the subject of various expressed concerns because the tendency of the programme has been to promote monetary incentives over the role of local institutions, which provide the foundation for socio-economic and political development in Africa (Cabral, Farrington & Ludi 2006; Hyden 2007). Other concerns include the formation and constitution of local MVP committees, thus sidelining traditional structures, prioritising increased income flow and learning how to effectively tap into external markets outside the village level, all of which previous development models abdicated (Cabral, Farrington & Ludi 2006). There are also concerns about the role of local communities and community participation in programme design, implementation, and programme sustainability beyond the funding period (Cabral, Farrington & Ludi 2006; Maxwell 2003). Successful implementation of projects of the magnitude of the MVP depends on the goodwill of the local people in relation to their political systems and issues of equity.

The Millennium Villages Promise (MVP) is supposed to be an example of a model that incorporates various sets of actors in its implementation. It is a bottom-up/top-down strategy designed to facilitate development in rural areas through community empowerment and the introduction of external expertise. Little is known about the effectiveness of this model in terms of how well it facilitates empowerment by building the institutional capacity of the local actors to work effectively with each other and external actors such as non-governmental organisations and national agencies. In particular, there is little know about how effective the programme is in utilising the vast network of groups and associations that existed in the villages prior to MVP, and will likely be responsible for maintaining and continuing the development efforts once the MVP efforts are complete.

Community organisations, participation and networks are vital to community development because they serve as entry points that enhance an understanding of foreign aid allocation, poverty alleviation and sustainability. This next chapter seeks to fill this gap in understanding, by focusing on specific MVP interventions planned and implemented in Sauri.

However, the question as to whether, or how, SMV social and power structures have a role to play in the implementation of MVP interventions, is absent from discussions about MDGs. In the application of MDGs in SMV, specific pre-existing conditions are not accounted for – resulting in inappropriate planning, implementation and sustainability of the project beyond

2015. This background provides a foundation for an in-depth exploration of the MVP implementations in Agriculture, Education and Health outcomes discussed and analysed in Chapter 5, through the conceptual framework with particular reference to, economic poverty, post implementation sustainability and foreign aid of interventions in the agriculture, education and health sectors – the key parameters of SMVP – are explored in the remainder of the thesis.

Chapter 6: SAURI MILLENNIUM VILLAGE PROJECT: IMPLEMENTATION AND OUTCOMES

The previous chapter explored family administration and power structures operating in Sauri, past development and the concept of MVP at the time the research was being conducted. This was important to understand implementation, outcomes and project sustainability of the SMVP that is the focus of this Chapter.

The basic assumptions of an MVP are that these:

> Impoverished villages can transform themselves and meet the Millennium Development Goals if they are empowered with proven, powerful, practical technologies. By investing in agriculture, education and health projects these community-led interventions will enable impoverished villages to escape extreme poverty, something that currently confines over 1 billion people worldwide (The Millennium Project 2002).

The objective of this chapter is to analyse SMVP implementations and outcome from actors (the people) view point to find out: (i) to what extent did the application of the broad framework of the MDGs suit the conditions of the Sauri Millennium Village and address the lingering structural issues that risked equity and sustainability in villages? (ii) to what extent are the lessons of SMVP relevant for strategizing long-term sustainable solutions which are also the focus of the Kenya Vision 2030? (iii) to what extent is the 'big push' theory of development and foreign aid that underpins the basis of SMVP, relevant in tackling the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya? The first section of this chapter presents MVP interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health projects in Sauri. Sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 are a discussion the outcomes, results and analysis of interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health projects in SMVP. The final section is a summary of SMVP implementation and outcomes.

6.1 MVP interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health projects in Sauri Millennium Village

Mr Patrick Mutuo, Sauri MVP Team Leader, and Ms Jessica Masira, Sauri MVP Deputy Team Leader and coordinator of the Community Development Sector and operations office at Kisumu, Kenya, provided some of the data about projects in Sauri during interviews and from MVP publications. Field data on the implementation and outcomes of MVP was collected from field trips between August and November 2009, and from January to March 2010 and May to August 2010. The MVP Deputy Team Leader gave ethical clearance to visit, observe, interview respondents, record and photograph a number of projects, some completed and others in various stages of implementation. Examples of poverty reduction intervention

recorded from field visits along with documents and information provided by the MVP in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health are summarised in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 and how these interventions were planned and implemented discussed in this section; and the results analysed in sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

Table 6.1: Agriculture and non-agriculture interventions

Project Name	Objectives	Activities
Agriculture and non-agriculture projects		
 High-value farming	To increase the income of the household	Assist 14,000 farming households; Triple Maize yields to 5t/ha; Assist 3,200 farmers plant nitrogen-fixing plants for soil fertility improvement; Train 800 farmers on enterprise diversification scale-up; Seed and fertiliser programme. Greenhouse cultivation.
 Dairy goat farming	To increase the income of the household	Assist 36 women by introducing smallholder dairy goat farming.
 Millennium Honey label	To increase the income of the household.	Assist 262 farmers, 946 hives with an annual yield of 2,500 kg of honey in 2011.
 Fish farming	To integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes;	Assist 204 fish farmers by providing 315 fish ponds with an annual yield of 1.2 tonnes per fish pond; Provide 37 farmers with drip irrigation equipment;
 Energy-conserving stoves	Energy savings	Provide 68 Rocket energy-conserving institutional cook stoves in 2,410 households; Provide rainwater harvesting in all 31 schools and nine health centres; Drill 11 boreholes and shallow wells;

Source: Fieldwork and Earth Institute, Baseline Report 2007.

Table 6.2: Education interventions

Project Name	Objectives	Activities
Universal Primary Education   Typical school in Sauri  VIP toilets	To increase primary school enrolment to 98% and attendance to 94% To halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.	Rehabilitation of 31 old schools; build new classrooms in schools; Provide 20,400 pupils in 31 primary schools with school meal at lunch in schools; Free primary education; Train 300 teachers in child-centred methodologies; Provide 265 computers in 26 primary schools; Train teachers in IT in 31 schools; Arrange post-primary scholarships for 69 students; January 2003, President Mwai Kibaki re-introduced free primary education in public schools. Construction of rainwater harvesting facilities and ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrines for boys and girls in all schools. Build 455 cubicles of VIP latrines in all 31 primary schools and 20 cubicles in public places.

Source: Fieldwork and Earth Institute, Baseline Report 2007.

According to Marisa, the SMV strategy employed an intense, multi-pronged aid package for agriculture and non-agriculture projects as a way to enhance income-earning opportunities, education, and health with a total cost of about US$1.5 million per year with the aim to end, all at once, the factors that together create the conditions for poverty. The MVP at the same time deployed a selection of foreign aid-financed interventions, anti-malaria bed nets, and school meals, among many others.

Table 6.3: Health interventions

Project Name	Objectives	Activities
Reduce child mortality and improve maternal health. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.   Community health centres: old above and new below.	To reduce by two-thirds the mortality rate of children ages five years and younger; To reduce maternal mortality rates by three-quarters; To reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of malaria and other diseases.	Establish and support nine health facilities with 60 health staff and 108 community health workers; Provide 48,000 mosquito repellent bed nets; Purchase three ambulances; Provide access to HIV/AIDS care and treatment to 5,342 persons with 2,851 of them being on ARTs; Double the use of contraceptives.

Source: Fieldwork and Earth Institute, Baseline Report 2007.

Note: In order to shape post-2015 MDGs and devise a comprehensive strategy to tackle the remaining challenges of development, the United Nations with support from Civil Society coalitions, including the Global Call to Action Against Poverty, CIVICUS and the Beyond 2015 Campaign, has already initiated a series of consultations both at national as well as at international level.

The health interventions represent a progression of narrowly focused and sector-specific development ideas and campaigns tried since the sixties. The MVP's quick-fix proposals, such as supplying mosquito nets to the poverty-stricken, seem naive in the face of the extent of the greatest plague, malaria, in SMV and Africa in general. Bed nets treated with insecticide are a great way to tackle the scourge of malaria – theoretically. However, there are big logistical problems, including distribution, looting, replacement and costs. The trouble is that malaria is so prevalent that many people treat it as an inevitable unpleasant fact. In Kenya, years of social marketing campaigns to promote the use of bed nets have scarcely made a difference. Therefore, Sachs' micro approach one off limited in Saui is not new but is largely inadequate and limits itself to the productive as well as development.

Where a single intervention might leave villagers trapped in poverty by other problems, the MVP asserts that its simultaneous execution of several interventions can break villages out of poverty traps for good. Fieldwork revealed the interventions were planned and implemented, bypassing the local actors (the villagers), traditional community structures discussed in Chapter 5 (see 5.1.2) for the overall success of the project and without a clear exit strategy in terms of post-

implementation operation, maintenance and sustainability of SMVP. These are discussed in the next sub-section.

6.1.1 MVP administration structure

Field work revealed that in order to implement MVP interventions in Sauri, in contrast to the traditional hierarchical structure discussed in the Chapter 5 in 5.1.2.1, MVP introduced its own administration structure to address the institutional constraints of colonial legacies that consistently challenged equity and sustainability aspects of most development projects supported by foreign aid in Kenya (Team leader 2009). According to the team leader, the new MVP structure was necessary to factor in the ecological, structural and economic barriers that continue to challenge equitable and sustainable development. The main sectors of the MVP are agriculture and non-agriculture projects, education and health implemented with an investment of US$120 per person (see, Sachs "Big Push" model, section 4.2.1) to reduce poverty and contribute to improving other productive, as well as social development, goals such as those related to health, education and environmentally sustainable interventions in agriculture. The MVP power structure includes the local team leader, sector leaders, community development leaders, as well as leaders of community interest groups. Sector meetings are organised according to the respective sectors under the leadership of sector leaders (see Figure 6.1).

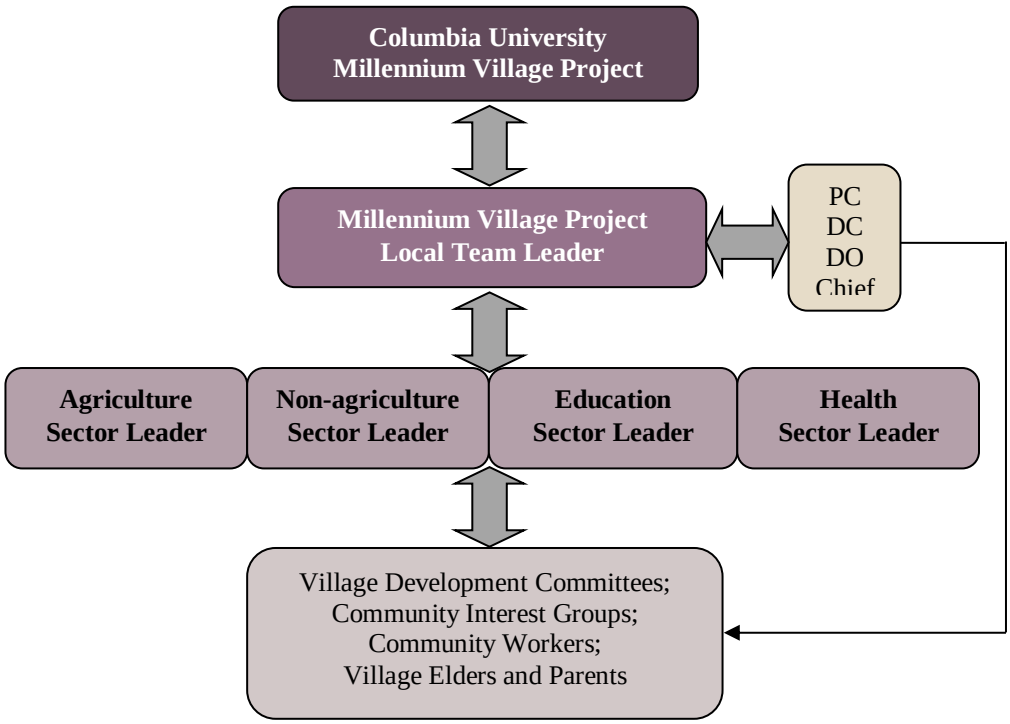

Figure 6.1: SMV administration structure in Sauri

Source: Author's diagram from fieldwork analysis

Village meetings are similarly organised in the relevant committees with direction provided by SMV development committee leaders. The focus of such meetings is mainly on issues relating to the MVP interventions, including training sessions for implementing the interventions or accessing resources. Once a month, the sector leaders organise inter-sector meetings for information to be shared across the sectors [MVP officer Odour, 43]. Community meetings in Kenyan rural communities [as in Sauri] are popularly referred to as 'barazas' and are part of the responsibilities of the chiefs, his assistants, and village elders. The barazas are settings for disseminating government policies for rural communities and serve to resolve citizen grievances and disputes.

6.1.2 MVP staff hired to implement SMVP

Fieldwork revealed that in order to implement the project activities in Sauri, MVP employs a substantial number of personnel, a fleet of 12 vehicles and 21 motor cycles. As of December 2009, there were 134 staff (see Table 6.4) employed in Sauri by the Earth Institute to deliver the MVP interventions in Sauri (Village Voice 2009). Since 2002, the international community has made available a significant amount of funds for the implementation and staffing of the project making the project foreign aid-dependent without any specific exit plans for the continuity of the SMVP beyond 2015. Therefore, a detailed break down and analysis of MVP staffing and salaries is important (Table 6.4) for answering research question 1 which is to find out SMVP post implementation sustainability relevant for strategising long-term sustainable solutions which are also the focus of the Kenya Vision 2030 .

Table 6.4: MVP staff and annual salaries of employees (2009)

	NAME	POSITION	SALARY US$*
1.	Anginya J. Tabu	Coordinator, Kisumu	28,000
2.	Alex Dick Akeno Adipo	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Lihanda HC	7,000
3.	Alphonse Mbondo Ndeto	Data Entry Clerk, Kisumu	2,800
4.	Amos Otieno Nyakwaka	Driver, Cluster	3,500
5.	Anne Chebet,	Cluster, Lab Technician	4,300
6.	Alice Awuor Nyadiang's	VTC Counsellor, Marenyo HC	6,000
7.	Annete Akinyi Olela	VTC Counsellor, Ramula HC	6,000
8.	Ann Achieng Odiedo	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Onding/Mindhine	7,000
9.	Anastasia Achola Leo	VCT Counsellor, Gongo HC	6,000
10.	Beda O. Judith	Registered Clinical Officer, Marenyo HC	10,600
11.	Benter Akinyi Owiyo	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Onding/Gongo	7,000
12.	Carren Renyce Miruka	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Marenyo HC	4,300
13.	Carolyne Nafula Malone	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Masogo HC	7,000
14.	Cecilia Kirianki Kathure	Nutritionist, Yala MVP Office	6,800
15.	Charles Oyoya Odero	Lab Technician, (Ramula HC) Cluster	4,300
16.	Chistine Auma Oyuga	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Gongo HC	7,000
17.	Christine A. Ogawa	VCT Counsellor, Lihanda HC	6,000
18.	Chrispinus O. Ekise	Field/Liaison Officer	8,200
19.	Christine A. Olweny	Enrolled Nurse, (Marenyo HC), Cluster	7,000
20.	Consolata A. Opondo	Nursing Officer (Yala SDH), Cluster	8,500
21.	Consolata Wambui Ndung'u	Registered Clinical Officer, Yala SDH	10,500
22.	Danstan Ochieng	Registered Clinical Officer, Gongo HC	10,500
23.	David Owilly	Field Technician, Kisumu	8,200
24.	Daniel Mbatha	Driver, Kisumu	3,500

25.	Diana Chepkoech Biegon	Clinical Officer, (Yala SDH)	10,600
26.	Dorothy Ochieng'Obiet	Nursing Officer, (Yala SDH), Cluster	8,300
27.	Elsa Swero Omondi	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Gongo HC	7,000
28.	Elisha Othero Owiyo	Community Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
29.	Elisha Ouma Olweya	Driver, Kisumu	3,500
30.	Elizabeth Ayoro Ojuok	Enrolled Nurse, (Sauri HC), Sauri	5,300
31.	Eliabeth Chebet	Nursing Officer, (yala SDH), Cluster	8,300
32.	Erick Achira Orang'o	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	7,000
33.	Eucabeth Kuzzen Owuor	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Mosogo HC	7,000
34.	Eunice Auma	Stores, Cluster	3,500
35.	Everline Adhiambo	Enrolled Nurse (Midhine Disp), Cluster	5,300
36.	Flen Abonyo	Health Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
37.	Flora Ashioya,	Agriculture Facilitator	6,000
38.	Fred Chiama	Driver, Cluster	3,500
39.	Fredrick Evans Omondi Oyier	Community Facilitator, Cluster	5,300
40.	Felix Odhiambo Ayara	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Onding/Ramula	7,000
41.	Fredrick O. Ocholla	Pharmaceutical Technologist, Yala SDH	9,400
42.	Fredrick O. Oyier	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Masogo HC	8,000
43.	Fredrick Obara	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Oding/Ramula	8,000
44.	George Otieno Mboya	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Gongo HC	7,000
45.	George Akongo	Programme Officer, WEF/BAACH, Siaya	6,500
46.	Godfrey Ooko	Agriculture Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
47.	Grace Atieno Oketch	Lab Technician, (Sauri n Cluster), Cluster	4,300
48.	Grace Oduor	Documentation Assistant, Kisumu	3,000
49.	Griffins Odhiambo	Field Technician, Kisumu	4,800
50.	Hannington N. Owidi	Agricultural Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
51.		Agricultural Facilitator, Sauri	6,000
52.	Jacob Ouma Otunga	Assistant Field Facilitator Infrastructure, Sauri	4,500
53.	Jackton Oloko Okello	Lab Technologist, Sauri	4,300
54.	Jacqueline Atieno Okumu	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Nyawara HC	7,000
55.	Jaqueline Atieno Olewe	VCT Counsellor, Nyawara HC	6,000
56.	James Odhiambo Nginja	Community Facilitator, Cluster	5,300
57.	James Ogola Wariero	Health Coordinator, Kisumu	8,500
58.	James Wafula Wasike	Driver, Cluster	3,500
59.	Jane Okinyo	Nurse, Sauri	7,000
60.	Japheth Bulali	Data entry clerk, Kisumu	2,800
61.	Jessica Masira	Deputy Team Leader/Community Development Coordinator	48,000
62.	Josephine Ambogo Elime,	Field Assistant–Health Records, Sauri	4,800
63.	Josephine Nyokabi Ruria	Admin Assistant, Kisumu	4,000
64.	Joseph Njeri	Research Assistant, Cluster	4,800
65.	Joseph Ondayo	Education Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
66.	Joshua Oria	Infrastructure Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
67.	Judith Mwenesi	Community Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
68.	Judy Ruto	Clinical Officer, East Gem	10,600
69.	Julius N. Osanya	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Gongo HC	4,300
70.	Kennedy Wasonga Kandira	Administrative Assistant –Yala, Cluster/Sauri	4,000
71.	Kipkemboi Kandle	Environment Facilitator, Cluster	4,000
72.	Lawrene Kinyae Muange	Office Assistant, Kisumu	4,000
73.	Leonard Nyakoye	Driver, Kisumu	3,500
74.	Lilian Onono	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	6,800
75.	Linda Akoth Orao	Nurse, Sauri	7,000
76.	Loice Kiya	Pharmaceutical Technologist, Yala SDH	9,800
77.	Loise Linda Logose	VCT Counsellor, Sauri HC	6,000
78.	Lucas Omollo	Education Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
79.	Mathews Onyango	Electrical Engineer, Sauri	5,900
80.	Mark Owino Okumu	Driver, Cluster	3,500
81.	Mary Anyiko Odiewo	Enrolled Nurse, (Marenyo HC), Cluster	7,000
82.	Mary Gorety Ngesa	Enrolled Nurse (Nyawara HC), Cluster	7,000
83.	Maulid Obado	Driver, Cluster	3,500
84.	Mercy Jepyator Kisang	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Sauri HC	6,800
85.	Mercy Okwaro	Educational Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
86.	Mildred Atieno Magero	VCT Counsellor, Masogo HC	6,000
87.	Millicent Nyambok	Enrolled Nurse, (Ramula HC)	7,000
88.	Mohammed Magut	Enterprise Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
89.	Nancy Atieno Olwande	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Mindhine Disp	4,300
90.	Nancy Bisieri Nyakundi	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Ramula HC	7,000
91.	Patrick Mutuo (Dr.)	Team Leader/Science Coordinator, Kisumu	74,000
92.	Patricik Ofwenya Kenyanyi	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Marenyo HC	7,000
93.	Patrick Ogaya Okeyo	Logistics Assistant, Kisumu	4,000
94.	Paul Nyisaka Achar	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Lihanda HC	7,000
95.	Peter Owako	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Masago HC	4,300
96.	Peter Ngoizi	Agriculture Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
97.	Peter Koinei	Infrastructure Coordinator, Kisumu	6,000
98.	Rebecca Adhiambo Ochuonyo	Office Assistant, Kisumu	4,000
99.	Rebecca O. Wamboye	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	7,000
100.	Richard Ayoo Ogeda	Education Coordinator, Kisumu	8,500

101.	Richard Okiyo	Agricultural Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
102.	Rose Akoth Mbori	Nutritionist, Cluster/Sauri	5,600
103.	Roy Wejuli	Field Facilitator, Sauri	5,300
104.	Sadiki Mwita	Registered Clinical Officer, Yala SDH	10,600
105.	Salome Munyendo	Program Assistant, Kisumu	4,300
106.	Samuel Jato	Field Technician, Kisumu	4,800
107.	Samwel Ouma Ochieng'	Medical Laboratory Technologist, Lihanda HC	6,300
108.	Samuel Omollo	Nurse counsellor, Cluster	7,000
109.	Samuel Ochieng Orwa	Environment Facilitator–Earth Clinic, Cluster	6,000
110.	Seth Kwatemba Wilson	Infrastructure Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
111.	Solomon Osewe	Health Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
112.	Solomon Waiganjo	Accountant, Kisumu	9,500
113.	Stephen Oluoch	Agriculture Facilitator, Cluster	6,000
114.	Syanley Shiundu	Public Health Worker, Sauri	4,000
115.	Steve Mbori Ochieng	Registered Clinical Officer, Nyawara HC	7,000
116	Susan Atieno Oduor	Lab Technologist (Mindhine HC), Cluster	4,300
117	Susan Apondi Oduor	Registered Clinical Officer, Yala SDH	10,600
118.	Susan A Owidi	Kenya Enrolled Community Health Nurse, Mindhine Disp.	7,000
119.	Sylvia N. Makanga	Kenya Enolled Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	7,000
120.	Veronica Atieno Oliech	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	7,000
121.	Violet Achieng Apondi	Nurse, Sauri	7,000
122.	Victoria Apondi	Assistant Field Facilitator, Sauri	3,800
123.	Vincent Auma K'ongina	Driver, Cluster	3,500
124.	Vincent Ratemo	Clinical Officer, Sauri	10,600
125.	Viviane Oluoch	Kenya Registered Community Health Nurse, Yala SDH	7,000
126.	Willy Diru	Agriculture Coordinator, Kisumu	6,000
127.	Wilson Ondiala	Field Technician, Kisumu	4,800
128.	Wilson Odhiambo	Registered Clinical Officer, Gongo HC	10,600
129.	Fred Wadede	Infrastructure Facilitator Water, Sauri	6,000
130.	Fred Watako	Agriculture, Cluster	6,000
131.	Jared Were Owiti	Dairy/A.J. Cluster	4,800
132.	Kenneth Awuor	Agriculture-Irrigation, Engineering	7,400
133.	Samuel Okawo Owino	Marenyo, Certificate in Agriculture	5,800
134.	Willis Okeno A. Odhiambo	Environment, Diploma Forestry	5,900
Total MVP staff salaries			**960,400**
Additional fuel and maintenance of 21 motor cycles, 12 vehicles			**180,000**
TOTAL recurrent costs per year (2009)			**1,140,400**

Source: Fieldwork and the Village Voice (2009).
*****Fieldwork and approximate salaries based on 2009 salaries because MVP unwilling to provide data.

An analysis of Table 6.4 staff and annual salaries revealed that there are some serious disparities in the numbers and salaries of personnel working in the Agriculture, education and health sectors as well as those in administration (see Table 6.5). For example, the team leader salary (US$74,000) is about the same as thirteen staff working in agriculture (most important sector for poverty alleviation) and more than nine staff working in the health sector. The fuel and maintenance annual cost of 21 motor cycles and 12 vehicles ($180,000) is extremely high about 18.7% of the annual recurrent expenses (2009), yet fieldwork established that three Nissan trucks used as ambulances for transporting sick villagers were mostly not available due lack of spare parts and shortages of fuel. Of the total number of 134 staff employed at the time of fieldwork, 40 (29.8%) were employed in administration and 72 (53.7%) in health, but only 9 (6.8%) in education and 13 (9.7%) in agriculture.

Table 6.5: MVP staff by profession and salary (2009)

POSITION	STAFF NO.	SALARY US$*
AGRICULTURE SECTOR		
Agricultural Facilitator, Cluster	**10**	**61,400**
Assistant Field Facilitator	**2**	**12,400**
Dairy Cluster	**1**	**4,800**
TOTAL Agriculture	**13**	**78,600**
EDUCATION SECTOR		
Education Coordinator	**4**	**26,500**
Infrastructure Facilitator (Schools), Cluster	**4**	**24,000**
Assistant Field Facilitator	**1**	**4,700**
TOTAL Education	**9**	**55,200**
HEALTH SECTOR		
Clinical Officer	**3**	**31,800**
Health Facilitator, Cluster	**3**	**20,500**
Nurse Clinic	**13**	**91,700**
Nurse Community Health	**21**	**146,600**
Laboratory Technician	**12**	**61,000**
Assistant Field Facilitator	**1**	**4,700**
Nutritionist	**2**	**12,400**
Registered Clinical Officer, Gongo HC	**7**	**70,400**
Pharmaceutical Technologist, Yala SDH	**2**	**19,200**
Public Health Worker, Sauri	**1**	**4,000**
Voluntary Counselling and Testing Counsellor	**7**	**42,000**
TOTAL Health	**72**	**504,300**
ADMINISTRATION		
Team Leader/Science Coordinator, Kisumu	**1**	**74,000**
Deputy Team Leader/Community Development Coordinator	**1**	**48,000**
Program Assistant, Kisumu	**2**	**10,800**
Office Assistant, Kisumu	**2**	**8,000**
Accountant, Kisumu	**1**	**9,500**
Administration Assistant	**3**	**16,200**
Community Facilitator, Cluster	**4**	**22,600**
Coordinator, Kisumu	**1**	**28,000**
Data Entry Clerk, Kisumu	**2**	**5,600**
Documentation Assistant, Kisumu	**1**	**3,000**
Driver, Cluster	**9**	**31,500**
Electrical Engineer	**1**	**5,900**
Enterprise Facilitator	**1**	**6,000**
Field Technician	**8**	**40,900**
Logistics Assistant, Kisumu	**1**	**4,000**
Research Assistant, Cluster	**1**	**4,800**
Stores, Cluster	**1**	**3,500**
TOTAL Administration	**40**	**322,300**

Source: Fieldwork analysis

The introduction of the MVP administration structure (Figure 6.1) and the 134 staff discussed in the previous sub-section changed the traditional dynamic of community participation. The

level of participation in community projects was at its peak at the onset of MVP programs. This was credited to the numerous forums organised by the MVP, fostering unity through increased interaction during sector meetings or training sessions and had transformed people's perceptions to development. A 69-year-old male and member of the village health committee said:

> After the inception of the MVP programs, there has been a lot of collaboration. One thing the MVP has done for us is that they have enabled us to have a forum where we can meet, quarrel, or talk; which we didn't have earlier. We just used to have local assistant chiefs barazas. But right now we are able to meet because of development in this community, which is very important.

A 43-year-old female community health worker said:

> When we were constructing the health centre in Sauri, people came out in real large numbers to assist in the construction of the health facility. Others even cooked food for those working on the construction. Everybody was eager to participate in the project that was coming to our community.

Subsequently, the extent of collaboration on community projects noticeably declined because of what was perceived by some to be the MVP's failure to tolerate critical voices within the community. Those found to be critical in MVP meetings would eventually be sidelined from further participation in community activities. This led to a perceived lack of transparency concerning some of the projects in which the MVP was involved with the community. Additionally, some felt that the leaders chosen influenced the level of participation in the programs. Personal differences were also identified as contributing to reduced collaboration:

> It is lack of commitment. People claim to be busy and lack time for other community activities. Also, some of the people chosen to lead are not as popular with the locals, so whenever they are associated with an activity people don't respond quite well. (A 32-year-old female community worker)

Seventeen participants of 48 specified the national institutions as having the greatest impact on community development. The participants considered the national institutions as having a long-lasting presence, unlike international organisations whose presence was tied to the life of their programmes [SMP]. The PC, DOs, DCs, chief and their assistant chiefs, collectively with the village elders, represented the government of Kenya.

The participants expressed satisfaction at the ability of village elders to influence their opinions on development matters in the community. For example, an elderly female farmer [Afandi, 60] said:

> We used to just go to the village elders and they bring people together [for barazas]. There are also groups [MVP-affiliated groups] that you can approach with your problem. We also approach elected officials. If the matter is more pressing, they first report to the village elders who then forward to the elected officials like the area councillor.

Another female farmer [Awiti, 65] continued:

> We share our views through village elders, opinion leaders and [agricultural, education, health etc.] group leaders who pass the information to the community when they are asked to do it. If there is a health project, they always do a good job informing the community [through barazas] and people always respond to them.

Fifteen participants discussed how the Sauri project, when started, had become a viable source of interacting in the community, with many interest groups, cooperatives, agricultural trainings and sector meetings, which brought people together frequently. Residents were expected to attend meetings, or training, and through these interest groups, personal interactions had increased significantly. By participating in the agricultural and health projects, they were able to access the resources needed to implement MVP interventions, as revealed by a farmer Oduo, 57:

> Yes, they have facilitated [The community development committees and related initiatives] a great deal. Sauri has a development committee per the MDGs, which also facilitates dissemination of information. They hosted trainings in water, health, education, agriculture etc. that brought people together quite often. [Agriculture] Sector facilitators organise their own meetings. Then there is a sub-location committee [for agriculture], which has representatives from different areas.

Seven participants professed religious organisations in Sauri as other ways for dissemination of development information in the communities because most people had a religious affiliation of some kind. They viewed church organisations as being organised, transparent, and helpful to most needs in the communities. According to a teacher [Ochola, 59], church activities unified people through congregational activities: 'The church institutions are trusted more than any other institution around because of their spiritual role in the community'. According to eight participants, most people were originally captivated into full participation in Sauri projects based on promises made to improve production and these promises had a wide appeal. The unique mobilisation of the MVP also played a role in increasing community participation, as people were eager to improve their lives. Fishponds, community interest groups, farmer cooperatives, and a cereal bank were some of the agricultural projects that attracted people into participation.

> There was a community-wide meeting when the MVP [was first introduced sometime in 2004] came and people were sensitised about their programmes. When the MVP came, they took soil samples and determined the soil nutrient deficiency. Later on, they brought us free farm inputs. I was just an ordinary subsistence farmer who did not know much about the quality of seeds to plant. There was a lot of training that came with the farm inputs [Odinga, 59]

At the initial stages of MVP, the community participated enthusiastically. However, due to slow progress some participants became less passionate and expressed concern at the fatigue in collaboration on programmes. They attributed this to the growing mistrust of the MVP regarding many programmes they believed had not been implemented as promised. For example, the cereal bank project was one of the enterprises that the MVP promised to introduce to the community through the agricultural sector. Community members were

trained in the advantages of a community-managed cereal bank and how such a project would help in storing or marketing surplus agricultural produce. However, according to a field worker [Odede] 'the project did not materialise as was intended due to management issues by those who were appointed as managers of the cereal bank'. Such a project had been widely anticipated since most farmers had contributed their cereals to make it operational. Nine participants voiced their perception 'that effective collaboration in the community was being constrained by lack of trust in the outcomes, failed promises, lack of transparency with MVP resources among the leaders, and inaccessibility by the MVP team'. One participant farmer [Odero, 59] said the MVP local teams had become unreachable to the residents when they needed them. I asked Odero:

> AK: Therefore, in order to avoid growing distance between the villagers and the MVP team why not communicate their grievances to Jeffrey Sachs at Columbia University?
>
> O: Each time Sanchez [Sachs' deputy at Columbia University] or Jeffrey Sachs comes, they are very much guarded [by local police] with restricted access unlike in the first years when the MVP was being started. These days when Sachs comes, he has a very high security team from the provincial administration so it is not easy to approach him as an ordinary citizen. So how do you do community development with police officers or the provincial administration? It is only the project managers who are given the opportunity to speak at such functions and in most cases, they misrepresent the information.

It is common practice in Kenya to provide security to all-important people due to the prevailing security situation in the country. Therefore, providing security to Sachs is not unusual and not intended to quarantine him from the village. However, the managers to deny villagers the opportunity to discuss their issues directly with him can misuse it.

Subsequently, there was collective mistrust of the MVP local leaders due to little involvement of villagers (actors) and their conduct that was perceived as being insensitive to the needs of Sauri villagers. The MVP leaders being considered outsiders could also exacerbate this mistrust. The participants further viewed the local team leaders as the obstacles to their relationship with the MVP donor community: 'Participants felt that the local MVP leadership was also contributing to a declining level of participation because they were not fully honourable' [Odongo, 42]. He continued:

> The problem is not very much with the MVP donors. We have high regard for the main donors. The problem lies with the outsiders [from other tribes working in MVP teams]; they are not very transparent with the community. They promise many things and do not deliver or were not accountable to the community in most of the expenditures.

Mosse (2005, p. 12) suggests that:

> Outsiders' access to the workings of development agencies is difficult. For one thing, such agencies operate within a nexus of evolution and external funding which means that effective mechanisms for filtering and regulating the flow of information and stabilising representations are necessary for survival. Here information is a private good rather than a public asset. Junior staffs [MVP team]

> withholds or reveal information strategically in order to secure reputations, conceal poor performance or to negotiate position in the organisation or with outsiders (donors, villagers); while professionals and bureaucrats hide behind official models and policy jargon …

In conclusion, this section established the process of SMVP interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture and in the process the actors (the villagers) left out of the project administration by the introducing MVP administration structures, as a result bypassing the traditional structures discussed the Chapter 4. The interventions implemented and administrated by foreign aid supported 134 MVP staff and at a total recurrent cost per year (2009) of US$ 1,149,400.00. Since foreign aid funded MVP has not factored in an exit strategy after 2015, the villagers were concerned with the organisational and post-implementation sustainability of the project after 2015.

6.2 Outcomes of the interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture projects

This section presents an in-depth exploration the outcomes of the MVP's broad and specific interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture projects, and the empirical outcomes in answer to the broad research questions. The section analyses the outcomes of the interventions from the villagers' (actors) own words (semi-structured interviews with residents of Sauri and key informants' data). In addition, villagers' perspectives of the SMV intervention, their impact and challenges. This analysis is important for the realisation of foreign aid supported MVP for poverty reduction and sustainable development, and the KV2030.

The Kenyan economy is highly dependent on agriculture, which is critical to reducing food insecurity and poverty (KV2030). There is general agreement that agriculture and non-agricultural activities play, and will continue to play, a major role in food security, the reduction of poverty and employment creation for the majority of people in rural areas (KV2030) as is the case in SMVP. Therefore, MVP introduced a number of agriculture and non-agricultural projects discussed sub-sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.1 (Table 6.1) (MVP 2007) and local economic enterprises to decrease hunger and poverty.

6.2.1 Agriculture projects

This sub-section provides a backdrop to agriculture in Sauri and an analysis of the outcomes of agriculture intervention by MVP. Over several decades, WB has advocated agriculture a vital development tool to reduce rural poverty, particularly in sub-Sahara Africa (World Bank 1996, 2008). Some scholars such as Adelman (1984) and Mellor (1995) suggest agricultural and rural development is central to a strategy aimed at alleviating poverty, food insecurity and

increase incomes apart from serving to fuel industrialisation in developing countries. Farmers need food but they also need money to buy items like kerosene oil for cooking, and medicines.

The population density of Sauri is about 700 persons per square kilometre. The average household size ranges from four to 13 persons. Generally, individual land size is less than 0.5 hectares that is inadequate to produce sufficient quantities to alleviate poverty. Sauri agriculture based on smallholding produce is for family sustainability and any surplus for markets. Agriculture plays an important role in economic development in many ways. Previous works have shown that GDP growth in agriculture is at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as compared to GDP growth from non-agricultural based countries (Khan 2000; World Bank 2008).

Fieldwork findings revealed in Sauri, the use of mineral fertiliser and improved seeds were low before the interventions. Most households used whatever limited quantities of animal manure and compost they could collect. Sauri villagers often confronted with insufficient food production in spite of the area receiving substantial amounts of rainfall yearly. Most farmers relied on indigenous farming practices without using farm inputs to boost their produce, and crop diversification practices were not common (Earth Institute 2007).

In order to make villagers in Sauri self-sufficient, the MVP selected and heavily invested in agriculture projects to enable impoverished villagers to escape poverty by 2015. Some 98% of households are engaged in some form of farming. The increased output in one participant's [Wilfred] maize yield may seem remarkable. The overall average yield is up threefold. 'The seeds and fertiliser gave us some "quick wins"' says Jessica Massira, the project assistant team leader and cluster manager.

To increase crop yield and reduce food shortages, farmers were trained in improved agricultural techniques and received seeds and fertiliser. According to the Team Leader of the MVP, implementation of the seeds and fertiliser programme was carried out in phases. During the first year (2005), there was a 100% subsidy on inputs, 50% during the second year (2006), and no subsidy during the remaining years. Loans from microfinance and formal banking institutions financed the acquisition of inputs during the third, fourth and fifth years. However, the implications of shifting from full subsidy to full loan financing were such that the number of farmers participating in the programme significantly dropped to about 10%, with those dropping out either accessing their own inputs or reverting to traditional farming practices (Source: unpublished MVP records).

According to data provided from the MVP, to date 174 on-farm and 331 off-farm businesses have been established to increase crop yields by 400%. While my research revealed that the MVP has established some small agriculture businesses, the actual list of businesses was not available when I requested a copy from the MVP Team Leader. Maize production had more than doubled to five tonnes per hectare, within one year making over 80% of households food-secure. The project's major impact on agriculture has been the procurement of fertiliser to boost maize production. Artificial fertilisers are far too expensive for the ordinary farmer, but in Sauri the project spends US$50,000 a year on them (MVP 2007). There was a significant increase in agricultural productivity within one year, by an average of 10.1 bags per hectare of land (70% expansion), because of the MVP providing improved seeds and fertilisers. In spite of this increase in agriculture outputs, fieldwork revealed, the overall household income effect was insignificant due to large family sizes. These results have important implications for the achievement of the objective of poverty reduction as envisaged by the MVP and the 'big push' model. The lack of a significant effect on income can be mainly explained by the small size of land and large families, which means any additional outcomes derived from productivity gains are allocated to self-consumption. However, this increased wealth from farmers with larger land sizes means they are able to sell the surplus, which is benefiting the community and meeting the goals of the MVP. According to the 'big push' theory of economic development, publicly coordinated investment can break the underdevelopment trap by helping economies overcome deficiencies in private incentives that prevent firms from adopting modern production techniques and achieving scale economies. These scale economies, in turn, create demand spill overs, increase market size, and theoretically generate a self-sustaining growth path that allows the economy to move to a Pareto preferred Nash equilibrium where it is a mutual best response for economic actors to choose large-scale industrialization over agriculture and small-scale production.

By participating in the agricultural projects, the farmers were able to access the resources needed to implement agricultural interventions. 'I am making an addition to my home' said a female farmer [Awino, 36] affected by the MVP. 'I bought a cow and a goat, this covers my young daughter's school requirements and I am building a house for my mother' said another male farmer [Omondi, 57]. 'Now that I am harvesting 30 bags of maize (of 90 kilograms each) instead of 12 from my two acres, my family is eating better and I have a surplus to sell' [Abuya, 42]. 'I used to apply fertiliser before, but since the Millennium project, we have gotten a real boost from the fertilisers', explains a 45-year-old widow [Odour, 49] who heads a homestead of 11 people, counting some of her children and a few in-laws. These farmers

attribute the small but real changes in their lives to gains made since the advent of the SMV project. For their higher yields and incomes, they credit new seed varieties and fertilisers.

Thirty-eight interviewees accredited improved and significant increase in agricultural productivity to new farming practices from MVP, improved soils due to fertilisers distributed by the project, and ample rainfall. The interviewees identified bananas, vegetables, corn, and beans as the most commonly grown food crops. The results indicate the need to diversify into productive economic activities, which typically require larger land areas that were taken over by the corrupt political class, and on which many rural communities relied for divarication and upkeep of large families, a small farmer complained (Ochaing, 72). Ochaing said:

> The MVP started around 2005. We did not have good farming practices before, our [crop] production was so low, and other things such as water springs were not available. We started seeing changes [in agriculture] when the MVP came and introduced training and seminars in agricultural production. They also gave us farm inputs (manure, seeds). So from 2006, the production improved significantly. For those who had large farms, their production was enormous but for me there has been little change.

It is common practice amongst environmentalists that there are many economic and social problems attached to fertiliser purchase and distribution in villages such as Sauri. Firstly, chemical fertilisers are extremely expensive. 'In Sauri, the project spends US$50,000 a year on them' (Rich 2010). 'Sauri may not be able to afford fertiliser when the project leaves'. This being reported by nine other farmers:

> Farmers often sell the fertiliser distributed to them because they are unable to see how the long-term economic benefits of fertiliser use will outweigh the immediate economic rewards of selling it on the black market.

Additionally, excessive use of chemical fertiliser in an agricultural village over a long period potentially risks contaminating water supplies. In a village where drought is frequent and clean water is a precious commodity, Sauri cannot afford to take that risk.

During Focus Group Discussions, I noted a common concern expressed by most farming households was the phasing-out of fertiliser subsidies that would not only influence the success of the programme, but also the sustainability of programme gains. As Jivetti (2012, p. 82) reveals:

> Most participants described that agricultural interventions were constructed on the "promise" of a five-year supply of farm inputs to the farmers by MVP, which raised expectations of the farmers significantly. However, the "promise" only lasted a year and a micro-loan programme [called SAGA] was introduced in the second year. The withdrawal of inputs was considered too sudden and premature while the participants felt unprepared to adapt to the new micro-loan programme. Relationships with the MVP deteriorated when some of those who took the loans failed to repay because they perceived the loans as a strategy to enrich a few individuals [corruption].

A male farmer [Jogo, 68] complained:

> I am afraid by the year 2015 we will have come back to ground zero. We began by free farm inputs, which were replaced by some form of loan systems that were to be repaid upon harvests. But there are many people whose crops did not grow well and there is no way they could repay. The micro-loan program failed.

Partial success has mainly been measured quantitatively by improvements in agricultural productivity. The major limitation with the MVP's way of measuring success is that it does not address the issue of connectedness i.e. to what extent can the outcomes be attributed to the interventions under MVP? The main challenge therefore is to determine what would have happened to the villagers had the MVP not been implemented. This study provides evidence (see Chapter 6) of significant financial increases after the project's first five years. Household income has doubled in some cases, with about 70% of these gains due to improved agricultural income. While income from maize production has increased five-fold since the baseline year, more than two thirds of agricultural income increases are from non-maize activities including crop and livestock diversification, and value-chain interventions such as agro-processing.

The results of my study disclose that an increase in agricultural productivity due to MVP has not necessarily translated into higher rural household income. This can be attributed to the fact that about 70% of the households own only 0.5 hectares of land or less, which is very small for an average household size of six members. Sachs (2005, p. 6) acknowledges the challenge posed by small land areas in achieving food security and income growth. Kuyiah et al. (2006) also found that small land sizes could be a limiting factor to increase the income of farmers. Even though MVP has advocated for diversification, in this location most households are still over-reliant on agriculture (mainly on maize farming, which is the staple crop), which reduces the possibilities of creating synergies with other crops discussed below.

For example, fieldwork revealed in the interest of diversification, and to move Luo farmers away from subsistence farming, many interventions have been introduced as 'high-value crops'. For example, farmers were trained in greenhouse cultivation by the growing tomatoes, vegetables and of 'Bird's Eye' chilli. The farmers were taken for exchange visits, and numerous training sessions with external trainers from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Horticulture Development Board, were conducted in the field. Seeds for tomatoes and chilli were purchased and given to 42 farmers, who piloted the project. The seedlings took two weeks on the nursery seedbed, before being transported into growing beds inside the greenhouse and the seedlings took two and one half months to mature. A tomato farmer Raphael said that he sells most of the tomatoes on the farm and any surplus at the nearby shopping centre. Said Raphael,

> Sales are good, but there are many expenses, such as need for a farmhand. The plants require a lot of water, which is scarce in Sauri, and as a result, I have to fetch water from a nearby river. In addition, the work involved in tending the crops in the green house (for example, spraying and maintaining the green house structure) proved to be too cumbersome.

However, challenges emerged, ranging from unfavourable weather to 'predation' by birds and diseases. In the end, less than six farmers harvested their crop and the small quantities they produced did not warrant continuing the project. Eventually, the project failed and the reasons given by the farmers included:

- Successful growth of greenhouse vegetables requires large acres at a time, to reduce the risk of bird predation;
- It was not cost effective for Mace foods to come all the way from Eldoret town only to pick small quantities of vegetables;
- The process of harvesting in greenhouses proved very harsh, as the farmers did not have access to water, insecticides and transportation of produce to markets, protective clothing, such as goggles and heavy gloves.

Further, rain failure necessitated the introduction of drip irrigation, which eventually was too expensive for most of the farmers, who were also already used to receiving handouts. Drip irrigation kits were purchased and distributed to 36 Luo farmers who were considered more responsive to improvements. The training that was conducted, involved external trainers from various organisations, including a team from Israel, for two weeks. In addition, farmers were taken for exchange visits to farms already using drip irrigation in large commercial fields. However, out of the 36 drip kits and green houses that were built, at the time of my field visit, only five were functioning (barely), while the rest had been abandoned.

On the other hand, some scholars argue that reducing the reliance on agriculture (crop and livestock production) has been found to increase income and thus provide a pathway out of poverty (Bahiigwa 2005; Freeman 2004; Kuyiah 2006). Owusu and Rahman (2011) also demonstrated that non-farm work exerted a positive and statistically significant effect on household income and food security status, supporting the widely held view that income from non-agriculture projects (non-farm work) discussed next is crucial to food security and poverty alleviation in rural areas of developing countries.

6.2.2 Non-agriculture projects

To address poverty and hunger in the village, besides agriculture, the MVP initiated a number of non-agriculture projects. MVP, apart from investments in agriculture, has invested in non-agricultural projects such as (i) dairy goat farming, (ii) bee keeping, (iii) fish farming discussed next, and traditional systems for economic growth known as the 'Merry Go Round' illustrated by the Chairperson [Ouma, 45] of a federation of 17 business associations. Ouma narrated:

> By pooling our profits, group members can take out loans. Some re-invest in their businesses, which range from buying goats to producing honey. Others spend on home improvements and fish farming. The associations throughout Sauri also offer training in farming techniques, money management, and other valuable skills needed by the villagers. By pooling their efforts and their profits, women are at the forefront of leading their communities out of extreme poverty.

6.2.2.1 Dairy goat farming

Besides high yield farming, the MVP also initiated a number of 'allegedly sustainable' income generating projects such as goat farming (see Table 5.1) to alleviate poverty. In Luo tradition and practice, higher cattle numbers indicate the success, prestige and wealth of the individual. Goats were not considered by Luo villagers to be a source of wealth due to cultural preferences for cattle. However, with the reduction in land areas due to historical factors mentioned in Chapter 1 and occasioned by population pressure, keeping cattle was not always a sustainable option. Therefore, the MVP proposed goat keeping as the ultimate 'sustainable' intervention for poverty reduction. This is discussed in detail.

MVP Team Leader Mutuo, stated that:

> Thirty-six Luo women [out of 12,000 households] with similar interests in dairy farming benefited from project diversification of farm production programme that started three years ago. They chose dairy goats for milk because goats occupy little space. Most of the women think it adds secondary income to their families, mainly through sale of milk. Other reasons for the programme strongly featured regular income and an insurance against emergency and unpredictable weather conditions.

He further stated that the Luo women's group received two weeks of dairy goat training, through the joint efforts of the Kenya Ministry of Livestock Development, Heifer Project International, Sauri MVP and the Dairy Goat Association of Kenya (DGAK). The women were ready with the project after establishing enough goat fodder (five acres of nipper and 1800 *calendars* trees), an improved unit for six pedigree goats and 36 local goats for cross-breeding. Mid-2009, six pedigree goats (five does and one buck), sourced from DGAK, were delivered to the group through support from the MVP. The group made a multiplication unit for breeding through Mrs Pamela Onyalo's farm. When interviewed at her farm Pamela told me:

> At first I thought the dream was far from being reached … I had interest in goat keeping for long. I have now managed to keep my own local goats in the best way only that their milk production is low. I am going to sell and remain with only four local does for upgrading. The breeding unit remains on my farm as a learning and multiplication unit. Later I hope to construct my own commercial scale-up unit.

Mrs Pamela Onyalo with her Goats

The narrative of Pamela Onyalo provides an insight into typical non-agriculture interventions by MVP to increase household income. Therefore, according to the Team Leader, the group has grown strong and inspired many others in surrounding neighbourhoods. Their pedigree buck, nicknamed *Marende*, has served 18 local goats of group members. The pedigree goats have started their own families. The group makes KShs3,990 (US$50) by selling 50 litres of milk (average milk production is at 1.9 litres per day, which is lower than or closer to that of crossbred goats), KShs1,200 (US$15.00) from buck services and KShs1,000 (US$12.50) from manure. Other attributes of the goats are multi-parity and multiple births, shorter generation interval, lower investment, higher digestive efficiency for roughage and lower feed requirements as compared to cattle.

However, Odeny cautioned:

> The group faced challenges. The twinning rate appears increasingly favourable, but mortality is relatively high, especially for the pedigree goats acquired by the MVP. Constraints related mainly to mediocre management from the various breeder-groups, insufficient resources (for example, land, feed and finances) and the external market, rather than a lack of technical information.

Further, for sustainability of dairy goat multiplication and breeding programmes targeting poverty alleviation, the initiative is not commensurate with the farmers' capacity to ensure success. Technologies are not based on the understanding of the farmers' production objectives, options and constraints. During interviews with goat farmers, it was evident that no independent study has been undertaken on the progress of the MVP dairy goat project to date except what is reported by the project managers. However, regular MVP progress reports suggest that much remains to be achieved. A dairy goat multiplication and future breeding programme for poverty alleviation needs to be commensurate with the farmers' resources and

management capacity to ensure success. It requires the use of appropriate messages and technologies based on a mutual understanding between providers of the programme and farmers' objectives, options and the constraints of corruption and nepotism because only selected farmers have benefited from this project.

6.2.2.2 Bee keeping

Another project bee keeping (see Table 5.1), and the processing, packaging, branding and marketing of Millennium Honey, was launched in 2008. According to the MVP team leader, this project has assisted 262 farmers, and introduced 946 hives that produced 2,500 kgs of honey in 2010 in 34 sites (see details in Table 6.6)

Table 6.6: Bee industry in Sauri

YEAR	No. of Hives	No. of Farmers	Sites	Honey kgs
Baseline	68	16	3	140
2008	198	53	11	300
2009	300	121	7	650
2010	380	72	13	1420
TOTAL	**946**	**262**	**34**	**2,510**

Source: MVP and fieldwork, 2010.

Apart from training, the project supports beekeeper groups with harvesting kits that consist of bee suit, hand gloves, veil, smokers, hive tool and a pair of gumboots. Farmers have a facility that processes raw honey, situated at the Nyawara Community Resource Centre. Ochogo, a 64-year old farmer started bee keeping in 2008, has 21 hives and harvested 80 kgs of processed honey in two years. 'I have gained a lot of knowledge on bee-keeping, and plan to expand it', said Ochogo, a single mother of eight children. Currently, the honey is sold locally, under the trade name Millennium Natural and Pure Honey (see Table 6.1).

6.2.2.3 Fish farming

One of the fish farming team leaders at the MVP stated:

> In tune with Luo traditional food practices, fishponds and aquaculture is improving incomes and diets in Sauri. The MVP is supporting and advising over 100 farmers in planning; constructing, filling with water and stocking more than 200 ponds with Tilapia and Catfish (see Table 5.1). Income per pond is approximately KShs 25,000 (US$330) after six months, with yields ranging from 250 to 1,000 fish fed

> on locally available feed. In line with the KV2030, scaling up of this activity is underway in Sauri and neighbouring areas.

However, fieldwork revealed this programme (including all non-agriculture projects) was introduced to supplement agriculture interventions. As engineer, Kuundu stated 'Due to poor harvesting, I decided to venture into fish farming in 2007'. He further stated:

> SMVP provided equipment such as aeration pumps and training from MVP Enterprise Sector facilitor. MVP supported me in terms of technical knowledge and skills of fitting drainage pipes in ponds. My first pond cost Kshs 70,000.00 (US$850). Now, I breed fingerlings in two season producing 20,000 tiny young fish that are sold to 240 fish farmers within the Sauri cluster, parts of Nyanza and Western provinces.

MVP agriculture coordinator summed up the good progress in fish farming to me:

> Rapid expansion has been observed in fish farming from 12 farmers, 18 fish ponds in 2008 to 453 ponds, 246 farmers. The ponds occupy surface area of 30.6 acres (12.24 hectares); earned the farmers Kshs 7.6 millions (US$90,000) by end of 2010.

These assertions were difficult to verify independently because no detailed documented data is available at the MVP project office in Kisumu. However, Kuundu mentioned:

> but the venture faces a number of challenges such as predation, where birds and monitor lizards gain access to the ponds, and eat fish. In addition, selling young fish to farmers within the Sauri cluster and Nyanza provinces is challenging due to long distances and lack of reliable but costly transport.

In brief, a homemaker [Odongo, 39] commented on incomes: 'With dairy farming, fish farming and bee keeping we can get some cash to buy daily needs. We have had significant outcomes'. As Diru, an agriculture coordinator put it: 'After food security, we started working with a range of enterprises. Onions, tomatoes, cabbages and chilli peppers – there is also a cooperative for fresh produce'.On the other hand, (Okello, 39, FDG) indicated that while 'MVP has invested in agricultural and non-agricultural activities such as fish, dairy and poultry farming, they have failed to combine agricultural and non-agricultural projects for individual households'. This may be due to the small size of plots. Fieldwork revealed that although some gains were made in the agriculture and non-agriculture interventions to reduce poverty and achieve sustainability, discussed above, there was no mention in MVP official reports of any unsuccessful projects in Sauri interventions.

6.3 Outcomes of the interventions in education projects

This section presents an in-depth exploration the outcomes of the MVP's broad and specific interventions in education to answer broad inter-related research questions. The section analyses the outcomes of the interventions from the villagers' perspectives of the SMV intervention, their impact and challenges. This analysis is important for the realisation of

foreign aid supported MVP for poverty reduction and sustainable development, and the KV2030. The main objective of the education programme was universal primary enrolment (UPE) by increasing primary school enrolment to 98%, with 94% school attendance in primary schools and improving the quality of education. The MVP concentrated on four specific areas: school infrastructure, school meals programme, free primary education and teacher training to achieve its objectives. The outcomes of these are discussed in this sub-section. A summary was provided in Table 6.2. This section is a discussion on firstly school infrastructure; secondly school meal programme; thirdly free primary education programme and fourthly teacher training, deployment and motivation to establish what it has achieved.

6.3.1 School infrastructure

MVP interventions have included rehabilitation of school infrastructures. At the beginning of the interventions, there were 31 schools in the Sauri cluster. According to the site teams in charge of education, the MVP had implemented a variety of interventions focused on the goal of UPE. In 2008, twenty new classrooms were constructed, and another 24 completed in 2009. Additionally, 12 of the old 31 schools were rehabilitated. In order to further augment the learning process, the SMV Assistant Team Leader in March 2010 stated 'over 200 infrastructure improvements have been made including water points, rainwater harvesting, electricity, classroom rehabilitation and gender-sensitive pit latrines'. When asked for more documentary information, there was very little evidence as to how much work had actually been completed infrastructure improvement, rainwater harvesting facilities and separate toilets for boys and girls in all the 31 primary schools as claimed by the team leader at MVP headquarters in Kisumu during my interview. When I asked the team leader to show me some of the failed projects, he replied 'They are very far away; I will be in trouble and will lose my job'. There was very little evidence as to how much work had been completed in implementing all the 31 primary school and education programmes as claimed by the team leader.

During fieldwork, I documented that some work had been done in Sauri in terms of building new classrooms and rehabilitating old schools, installing necessary equipment for rainwater harvesting. In addition constructing VIP toilets separately for boys and girls in order to counter low school enrolment because toilet numbers were lacking in schools, or else were inadequate and in scanty condition, if they existed at all. This had negative effects on girls, the disabled and young children. There had been reports of pupils relieving themselves in the nearby bushes, which is unhealthy. According to the team leader, the MVP has built 455 cubicles of VIP latrines in all 31 primary schools and 20 cubicles in public places.

6.3.2 School meals programme

The school meals programme was introduced by the MVP to encourage more enrolment in primary schools on a cost-shared basis between MVP and the community. According to the education team leader:

> A school feeding program was implemented in all 31 primary schools across the Sauri cluster, and is now providing lunch to 20,400 students. By offering nutritious, locally produced food, the program has directly led to increased school attendance and better academic performance. Maize for school lunches is provided by local farmers, who donate 10% of their yield to school feeding programs as part of an agreement to receive subsidized seed and fertilizer. The school feeding program contributes to improved school enrolment and attendance because parents are given incentives by the guarantee that children will have at least one hot meal a day. Bar Sauri Primary School is now one of the top academic performers – jumping from a rank of 195th to the top 10**.**

All of Sauri's 20,400 primary school children receive daily school meals consisting of locally grown maize, beans, fruits, and vegetables. Improved school infrastructure and the daily school meals have been a significant improvement in the education system (SMV 2010). For example, the school feeding programme at Nyamuninia Primary school is unique in an area traditionally struck with poverty because it is self-sustaining, run by parents, teachers and students themselves who took over after early donor funding had ended.

This is one of the few cases I witnessed where the community is sustaining a project. Together, the farmers produce enough food to provide free, nutritious meals to the school's 875 students, and income from the sale of extra produce like eggs and milk goes to buy supplies, books and uniforms for the neediest children. 'Ten per cent of the village's harvest goes toward school lunches for the children', a teacher said [Ogot, 53]. Ogot continued: 'The programme is having a remarkable impact on school results, and it is hard to believe that only five years ago, most children in Sauri were too hungry to concentrate in classes. Attendance at Nyamininia Primary School has gone from 710 pupils in 2005 to 875 in 2011. The teacher (Ogot) explained:

> Initially, parents resisted taking part in the school feeding because they thought it would be a big expense. However, when they saw the grades of their children improving, they wanted to be a part. Now, other schools around Sauri are starting up their own programmes.

Now, the entire student body receives nourishing meals. She proudly continued:

> Since Sauri began the programme, its school ranking has risen from just inside the top 200 in the district into the top 10. Improved nutrition means that the students can concentrate better, and they're also healthier and more energetic.

A World Food Programme (2007) report on Home Grown School Feeding Mapping supports Ogot's assertion that school feeding has reduced shot-term hunger and provides incentives to

send children to school, and stay in school, as well as increasing children's capabilities in classrooms. The report cautions, however, that it does not benefit the pre-schoolers or adults in the family and has difficulty in targeting students as well as long-term sustainability issues. World Food Programme (2007) postulates:

> Overall, there is ample evidence that appropriately targeted SFP increases school enrolment and attendance reduces dropout rates and reduces the gender gap. For example, a study conducted in Malawi by WFP (1995) showed that a small pilot school feeding programme over a 3 month period led to a 5 percent increase in enrolment and up to 36 percent improvement in attendance. On the contrary, some studies did not show positive results. In a study conducted by Meme (1998) in Kenya the researchers did not find a difference in the attendance rates between schools with and without the programme.

According to WFP while there is substantial evidence that SFPs have a positive effect on cognitive functions and education attainment (especially for previously malnourished children), the evidence is not as strong as for enrolment and attendance outcomes as is the case in the SMV. This is probably due to the complexity involved in the evaluations and the multiple factors influencing the learning process. Evaluations to determine the impacts of SFP on educational attainment in Sauri are sparse and most of them lack scientific rigor. For example, only a few investigators have examined the effects of school meals on school achievement levels, using quasi-experimental designs with matched treatment and control groups. Even such evaluations have not shown consistent results. This is probably because of the complex nature of the learning process and the presence of numerous confounding factors (WFP 2007).

The school feeding programme of Nyamuninia Primary School in SMV is being promoted as a success story. On 7 October 2012, I attended the International Food Fair, organised by the National Museums of Kenya, where a 14-year-old student [Eugene Obare] and his friends from Nyamuninia Primary School in Sauri Millennium Village were invited to address a packed amphitheatre of delegates. Eugene narrated:

> We run a supplementary feeding programme, so that students get enough vitamins and have a balanced diet. We grow vegetables like kale in the school garden, and from the income generated by sales of different produce; we have hired workers and small farms to grow maize and beans as well. Typical meals at Nyamuninia consist solely of produce generated by the school, and in addition to fresh vegetables include fruit like avocados and paw paw, and milk. We have five cows now, and with the milk they produce, we supplement children's porridge in the morning, particularly nursery students. We sell the surplus milk, and with the money, we have been able to buy more cows.

'Before, we would miss school when we went home to look for food. Sometimes we would find no food. We couldn't concentrate on an empty stomach and our performance was low', said a fourteen-year-old [Awuor] at the same function. This success motivates parents to provide the bulk of the food from surplus agricultural produce.

Conversely, this has created some challenges in the country, including Sauri, as demonstrated by a teacher [Oguok, 56] from Bar Sauri Primary School who told me not to use his name. He said:

> There has been a sudden increase in numbers, which can be traced back to the Government's announcement of free primary education. This has made education delivery very difficult, because the number of available trained teachers and facilities has not increased in line with the rise in student numbers. The schools need more latrines, more water sources, textbooks and other infrastructure.

6.3.3 Free primary education programme

The implementation of Free Primary Education (FPE), like similar interventions by previous governments, has been a matter of political expediency rather than a well thought out and planned reform. Since independence, Kenya has articulated the need to attain FPE. To demonstrate its conviction, the government ratified the recommendations of the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All and the Dakar Framework for Action adopted at the 2000 Dakar World Education Forum (UNESCO 2011) and endorsed the goals of the Millennium Summit (2000). The Dakar Forum reiterated the right of every child to education and emphasised the duty of the Kenyan government to provide education to all its citizens. Furthermore, the Children's Act of 2001 grants every Kenyan child the right to education. It is therefore incumbent upon the government to take deliberate policy measures and actions to fulfil this obligation (World Bank & UNICEF 2009, p. 130). Therefore, the conception of FPE is not new in Kenya as Sifuna (1990, p.59) disclose:

> In the 1963 elections, when the Kenya African National Union (KANU) became the ruling party, it published a manifesto entitled, What a KANU Government offers you. This manifesto committed the party to offering a minimum of seven years of free primary education. In the 1969 election manifesto the party again re-echoed its commitment to providing seven years of free primary education. It was emphasized that it was the KANU Government's guiding principle to give priority in educational programmes to areas, which were neglected during the colonial rule so that every Kenyan could share fully both in the process of nation building, and in enjoying the fruits of government labour.

Therefore, FPE is an on-going process throughout Kenya, having started in 1963 and continuing until the mid-1980s. During this time, the government adopted cost-sharing measures that led to a minor level of school fees charged by primary schools for textbooks, the formation of Parent Teachers' Associations and the introduction of extracurricular activities. In 2003, President Mwai Kibaki re-introduced FPE; education in public schools became free and universal (but not compulsory). One mother summed it up: 'With education my daughter can help build a nation. She'll even be able to depend on herself'. With the Presidential Decree, many gains have been made: enrolment in primary education has increased, and the education objective has been achieved at national and provincial levels, and in Sauri, as illustrated in Table 6.7. The SMV, however, cannot take all the credit for the increase in enrolment due to the school feeding programme and implementation of the FPE

programme. The achievements in enrolment in Sauri are not too far removed from national figures. In spite of SMV, substantial funds have been made available for physical improvements of schools and school feeding programmes, which encourage more enrolment and better attendance.

Table 6.7: Primary net enrolment ratios by gender in Sauri, Nyanza and Nationally (%)

Region/Year	2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
SAURI	81.3	82.9	83.5	85.6	85.8	90.1	89.8	93.7	89.2	98.1	98.0	99.1
Nyanza	96.9	96.2	98.4	97.2	98.4	97.2	98.4	98.2	98.7	98.4	98.9	98.6
National	82.2	82	83.8	82.6	86.5	86.5	94.1	89	94.6	90.5	94.8	90.7

Source: Ministry of Education Statistical Department (2010) and field data.

The Sauri Millennium Village was a direct beneficiary of this Presidential Decree, with primary school enrolment at about 98%. Rose Atieno is a mother, whose children attend a Sauri Primary School: For her, the prospect of not having to pay the fee of almost US$4 every month to educate her 10-year-old daughter Mary made all the difference. ‘It was very difficult to get the money before’, said Rose, who sells vegetables to men working on a building site to earn a living. Mary is the second of Rose’s four children and paying school fees to educate all of them would, she said, have been almost impossible. ‘I think we only have to pay for uniforms, socks and sweaters’, she says. ‘The government provides the books’.

Even with free education, parents continue to pay for uniforms and stationery, such as exercise books, pencils and erasers. There are still some challenges: ‘Where shall I get the money for a uniform?’ asks Jane Muthoni. Jane’s daughter Eulalia is eight years old and has been attending a nearby school on and off, depending on whether her mother has any money. ‘We don’t have enough desks or classrooms or teachers’, says James Kamanda, a teacher. However, the parents know what their priorities are.

The introduction of FPE has created other problems with infrastructure, as I learned from a teacher. During my visit, I observed classrooms poorly constructed from cheap corrugated iron sheets, stones and bricks without proper ventilation and protection from rain. The teacher [Onyango, 45] mentioned that:

> *This makes concentration difficult for the teacher and the pupils, especially in the afternoon hours when the temperatures are high. These give rise to in a teaching and learning environment not favourable for learning, especially for older aged learners and the disabled.*

Another concerned teacher stated that some schools have recorded dropouts and declining enrolment because some parents cannot afford to buy school uniforms while some – especially girl students – have to help their elderly parents with cooking, fetching water and fuel wood from far away for cooking. This does not augur well for the objective of expanding access, retention and completion rates (UNESCO March 2005). A parent [Aluna, 48] of a disabled student said: 'Although FPE has allowed many children to access and enrol in schools, it does not provide for the needs of children with disabilities'. The parent's assertion was supported by my observations that there are no special facilities or materials, such as desks in classrooms, toilet facilities, hearing aids and the like for disabled and or visually impaired children. According to UNICEF (2007), country-specific information suggests that between 5% and 10% of all children in Kenya grow up with disabilities. This epitomises an enormous hurdle to achieving the MDG of primary education for all children by 2015. Serious challenges have compromised the implementation of the FPE policy (UNICEF & World Bank 2009). They include congested classrooms, limited physical facilities and shortage of qualified teachers, which negatively influenced the quality of teaching and learning in schools. There is still an acute shortage of trained teachers and funds to build new schools (see *Case Study: Bar Sauri Primary School*).

There was a general misconception about the meaning of 'free' education, with parents understanding that they were no longer required to buy books and materials and contribute financially in school activities. The political leaders were also sending conflicting signals to the parents and communities as they pointed out that fund drives or voluntary contributions were not acceptable. In view of the study findings and based on suggestions by the various respondents, the following recommendations by the villager education team should be considered to help the programme succeed (Village Education Team, 2010):

> The government, as a matter of priority, develops the free primary education policy that clearly defines what FPE is all about. The policy should give direction on access, quality assurance and retention and completion strategies. The policy should also provide for the needs of children with disabilities. The policy should be published and disseminated widely, expand, strengthen and create centres for accelerated learning, targeting over-age youth.

This resulted in a teaching and learning environment not conducive for learning, especially for older-aged learners and the disabled. With regard to FPE, it was apparent that HIV/AIDS was negatively affecting the attainment of the education goal. It has affected the health of teachers, reducing the capacity of schools to handle the large number of children enrolled.

Similarly, it has created a large pool of orphans, who are not able to attend school consistently as they lack basic needs such as food and clothing. Such children do not concentrate on their studies and some end up dropping out of school. Some schools also reported cases of HIV-positive children who were not able to attend school regularly due to opportunistic diseases. HIV/AIDS had also reduced the capacity of communities to support schools, given that it had killed productive members of the society (Cohen 2007). During fieldwork, when visiting schools, I noticed that children with special needs were inadequately supported. Although FPE has allowed many children to access and enrol in schools, it does not provide for the needs of children with disabilities. There are no special facilities or materials, such as hearing aids or Braille materials, for disabled children. The school buildings, and particularly the toilets, are not accessible for the physically disabled. The fact that the classes were congested means that teachers could not give individual attention to those with disabilities. Consequently, schools have recorded dropouts and declining enrolment. This does not augur well for the Goal 2 of expanding access, retention and completion rates (UNESCO 2005).

There are other more pressing challenges, especially for female pupils, as illustrated below in Case Study of Emilly.

Case Study: Emilly's Story

Emily Atieno Onyango is a young girl born in a family of eight in the underprivileged rural Kenyan village of Sauri. She had to walk 2.5 km to and from Sauriyako Primary School every day. She finished her primary education with good results but had to wait two years for her father to raise the fees for the next step. Then, like so many young girls of her age in Kenya, she became pregnant and had to drop out of school. This was the end of her education and her dreams were wiped out. Unfortunately, in most rural areas, pregnant teenagers are seen as a disgrace to the family and are pushed towards marriage to restore their lost dignity. The customary image of women as wives and mothers is so strongly rooted that families often choose to educate boys only, for fear of wasting valuable resources on girls who might become pregnant in the course of their studies.

Besides looking after her baby, Emily has to work far longer hours than do her brothers. On average, her workdays are 50% longer and work is closely integrated with household production systems. In addition to helping her parents in the fields, she has to assist with domestic tasks such as processing food crops, providing water and firewood and caring for her sick grandfather.

Note: The time and effort necessary for these tasks, in the almost total absence of even rudimentary domestic technology, is significant. Surveys of rural travel and transport patterns have found that African women move, on average, usually via head loading, 26 metric ton a year (especially water and fuel wood), compared with less than seven metric ton for men. This, combined with women's contribution to agriculture, has led to estimates that women contribute about two thirds of the total rural transport effort (Mukurasi 2008).

Bar Sauri Primary School is one of the 31 schools in Sauri and has over 1,800 pupils. There has been a sudden increase in numbers, which can be traced to the Government's announcement of free primary education. This has made education delivery very difficult, because the number of available trained teachers has not increased in line with the rise in student numbers. There is currently a need for another 20 teachers. The available teachers have to take extra and overcrowded classes because there are not enough classrooms. The situation is made worse during examination periods.

Case Study: Bar Sauri Primary School

Introduction of free primary education has created other problems with infrastructure. During my visit, I observed a shortage of toilets and latrines, especially for the female students, creating serious hygiene problems. The available classrooms were also poorly constructed from cheap corrugated iron sheets, stones and bricks without proper ventilation and protection from rain. This makes concentration difficult for the teacher and the pupils, especially in the afternoon hours when the temperatures are high. Though Bar Sauri faces all these challenges, the good news is that they have been able to get help from multinational brands such as SMP and Nike. For this reason, the school now boasts 19 well-built permanent classrooms, 8 permanent latrines, textbooks, uniforms, desks and concrete 40,000 litre water tanks. The following programmes were responsible for these achievements:

KESSP: A government programme focused on school infrastructure; Orphaned and Vulnerable Children Programme: This programme gives out school uniforms and desks; The Ministry of Education: They provided the money to purchase text books; Constituency Development Fund: This programme funded the construction of some classrooms; Sana International, through the Ministry of Education: This group built the eight latrines and the water tank. This has positively affected pupils and teachers' well-being at school and reduced the chances of disease contraction from child to child at school. Hygiene has also been promoted at higher levels. However, according to the head teacher at Bar Sauri, 'there is a gap still to be filled, and so the way forward is to do 29 more classrooms, add 14 more teachers, more latrines, more water source, text books and other infrastructures'. Although some MDG-related education programmes have been enacted in Sauri, there is still a great need within Sauri and its surrounds for schools with similarly appropriate resources and high levels of hygiene.

I was interested to know about the quality and relevance of education to the villagers needs. Adedeji and Olaniyan (2011, p. 3) in a UNESCO report on improving conditions for teachers and the quality of teaching in rural schools across African countries maintains:

> Progress in achieving the education MDG is slow because of a lack of adequate supply of teachers, their effective deployment, a failed training system to equip them with the required skills and lack of efficient management and career structure that would result in well performing teachers. It is now well recognised that without good teachers, we cannot have a good education system, and without a good education system, no country can provide its citizens a quality life. Nowhere is this truer than in sub-Saharan Africa where a majority of the people live in poverty and few have access to quality education.

During informal conversations, villagers identified other challenges. Many households are dependent on their children for help at busy times of the agricultural year such as harvest time. Parents in rural areas often have a lower level of education, and may attach a lower

value to schooling. The perceived lack of relevance of schooling may be enhanced by a rigid curriculum, often designed for a context (and sometimes culture) removed from that in rural areas. Taylor and Mulhall (2001) support this in noting that rural schools rarely adapt the curriculum to make use of local examples, or to link the curriculum to local needs. A most common response regarding MVP interventions and school curriculum was that when children attend school, they find the curriculum less relevant to their lives, and not fully supported by their parents who in most cases have not attended schools themselves [Odondi, 47].

As 2012 was the tenth year of FPE implementation in Sauri and Kenya, fieldwork conclusively established that education has been a success story. This initiative has, however, definite limitations. It has raised some challenges and not adequately addressed important dimensions such as financial continuity and sustainability by SMV initiatives other than to source below average quality water and sanitation facilities and classrooms. Thus, many lessons can be learned from the MVP, including capacity building for sustainability; political commitment critical for successful implementation, and the elimination of bureaucracy and corruption for effective disbursement of donor funds; and partnership at every level of implementation. These are imperative for the programme to succeed. The success of FPE in Sauri [Kenya] can only be assured if disbursements of foreign aid are detached from political deliberations and manipulations [corruption]. Since the MVP and Kenya government cannot implement FPE alone, it needs to provide an institutional framework for enabling all stakeholders to participate in MVP programmes. This is strategic to the programmes' sustainability.

6.3.4 Teacher training, deployment and motivation

Working closely with the Ministries of Education, partners, and local Teacher Training Colleges, roughly 1,300 teachers were trained in child-centred methodologies, refresher courses, and/or other topics, including IT, identified by teachers (SMV 2010).

Teacher recruitment, deployment and motivation are major challenges in schools in Sauri and in most rural public schools. I observed that all schools visited suffered serious teacher shortages. On average, there was a shortfall of two to three teachers in each school. The teachers had a heavy workload, handling many lessons and many pupils. It was difficult for teachers to provide personal attention to students, to give adequate assignments, to test their students or ensure quality education of their classes. In addition, they were frustrated by their poor terms of employment and low salaries that were also noted as a national problem. In particular, they were unhappy for having to stay teaching in the same grade for such a long

time. This did not give them opportunities for training nor to improve their skills and performance. All these factors contribute to the quality of education even though quantitatively a 98% enrolment has been achieved in Sauri.

Problematic however, is the acute shortage of trained teachers and funds to build new schools. Other challenges include congested classrooms, limited physical facilities and the shortage of qualified teachers, which negatively influenced the quality of teaching and learning on the one hand and contributed to indiscipline in schools on the other (Okwach & George 1997). UNICEF & World Bank, (2009) support this assertion.

Another concern cited by some interviewees was that teachers in Sauri seem to teach less than their counterparts in cities because teachers walk long distances to school, they may tend to start late, finish early and are usually less qualified. Teachers that are more qualified tend to look for work in urban centres where the salaries are higher. In some cases, they also have difficulty in accessing books and materials.

In addition, because parents tend, in general, to be less educated, they are less likely to monitor the quality of teaching, or to take action if the teaching is of poor quality. Further Sauri schools do not attract the best teachers due to lower salaries compared with urban schools. UNESCO (2011, p. 57) reports:

> The poor salary of teachers, when compared with their counterparts who are engaged in other professions with comparable level of education and experience, is one of the challenges teachers have to cope with across sub-Saharan African countries. Teaching, in many sub-Saharan African countries, is one of the most undervalued professions. Evidence continues to mount indicating that teachers in rural schools face greater challenges that are not compatible with their urban counterparts.

Low teachers' salaries have been a national issue for over twenty years. 'Addressing this disparity is a major challenge for education team in Sauri', said a teacher [Okelo, 59]. These gaps need to be addressed. When asked if school attendance in the last ten years has increased or decreased, 125 (92%) respondents said it had increased while 11 (8%) said it had decreased. Rigorous impact evaluation of education is needed to show the real effects of this type of integrated intervention (Clemens & Demombynes 2010).

It was evident during discussions with interviewees that debate on the quality and methods of education is missing in the education goal in spite of improvements in the infrastructure and school feeding programmes in MVP. My fieldwork revealed that SMV initiatives in education have focussed on the attainment of FPE for all and the MDGs related universal education and gender parity. However the fundamental trepidations by villagers are retention; significance;

quality; and continuation [sustainability]. World Bank and UNESCO (2009, p. 136) support the villagers' apprehensions:

> The main determinants of quality education include provision of adequate textbooks and teaching staff, a conducive learning environment (including water and sanitation facilities and classrooms), as well as a broad-based curriculum that is implemented through child-cantered interactive teaching methodologies.

In conclusion, this section presented an in-depth exploration the outcomes of the MVP's broad and specific interventions in education to answer broad inter-related research questions from the villagers' perspectives of the SMV intervention, their impact and challenges. This analysis is important for the realisation of foreign aid supported MVP for poverty reduction and sustainable development, and the KV2030. The main objective of the education programme was UPE by increasing primary school enrolment to 98%, with 94% school attendance in primary schools and improving the quality of education was achieved but not without challenges in terms of organisational and post implementation sustainability and foreign aid.

6.4 Outcomes of the interventions in health projects

This section presents an exploration of the outcomes of the MVP's broad and specific interventions in health, and the empirical outcomes in answer to the broad inter-connected research questions. The section analyses the outcomes of the interventions from the villagers' (actors) own words (semi-structured interviews with residents of Sauri and key informants' data). In addition, villagers' perspectives of the SMV intervention, their impact and challenges. This analysis is important for the realisation of foreign aid supported MVP for poverty reduction and sustainable development, and the KV2030.

Just as Sauri's food crisis is a reflection of the interaction of biophysical and economic factors, so too was the health crisis and the lack of basic public health services (Earth Institute 2007). Before the MVP interventions, hunger, AIDS and malaria overwhelmed Sauri. Malnutrition and poor health plague the community (MVP 2007). Luo people in the villages had limited access to medical care and most were too poverty-stricken to buy medicines when they were available. The average distance to a clinic or medical care is 5 km over rough terrain. There were no medical doctors at Yala Sub-District Hospital until January 2005, when the MVP brought in a doctor to split his time between the hospital and the Sauri clinic. Sauri is a holo-endemic area for malaria, meaning that malaria is prevalent year-round. In the Sauri village cluster, Ministry of Health statistics show that approximately 52% of residents are

afflicted with malaria annually and 24% with HIV/AIDS (Yala District Development Plan 2008–2012, p. 32).

The MVP model for providing health care, concentrated on a platform of amenities considered critical to rural populations characterised by extreme poverty, inadequate access to health care, and inhibited by high cost, access and transport (Konecky & Palm 2008). According to The Earth Institute (2007), the model strives to provide accessible and appropriate health services, accepted by communities. Consequently, the MVP established a health clinic that provides basic services including immunisation, antenatal services, and other services for common diseases. For comprehensive services, a referral hospital that focuses on critical treatments like HIVAIDS treatments and caesarean delivery is in the planning stage. Community health workers (CHW) are considered the 'cornerstone of the community-based health care delivery system and are a critical link in the health system' (Earth Institute 2007, p. 99). The objective of the health indicator is to reduce by two-thirds the mortality rate of children aged five years and younger, reduce maternal mortality rates by three-quarters and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of malaria and other diseases in the SMV. Therefore, in order to address these problems MVP interventions in health have included the development and rehabilitation of health centres, hiring and training of health personnel (including community health workers), purchase of ambulance vehicles, distribution of mosquito nets and access to HIV/AIDS care and treatment. These interventions are summarised in Table 6.3 and discussed below in the four sub-sections.

6.4.1 Health centres and infrastructure

The purpose of rehabilitation of one old health facility and the construction of eight new centres (Table 5.8) was to reduce by two-thirds the mortality rate of children aged five years and younger, reduce maternal mortality rates by three-quarters and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of malaria and other diseases. The project's strategy regarding infrastructure for the health sector was an integrated approach: improved health facilities (i.e. clinics, dispensaries and posts), improved housing conditions for health facility staff and better access to facilities. These objectives were to be achieved by upgrading the level of services in existing facilities, habilitating and constructing new centres and staff quarters and connecting these to clean water and power.

Progress in health has been encouraging. This claim was supported by my observations and visits to the clinics during fieldwork (Table 6.8). A doctor [Akyema, 65] at a clinic assured me:

> While encouraging evidence of solid progress has been made on a number of fronts in health-related interventions, consolidating these gains and ensuring their durability requires effective coordination between Project partners in the final five years of the Project's second phase … with basic infrastructure present in most sites in Sauri cluster, improving the range of care, extending intervention coverage to the household level through a community health worker programme and linking all the components into a workable solution all remain a critical focus.

Table 6.8: Cost breakdown of health centres: rehabilitation and new construction

	Rehabilitation			New Construction		
	Existing Facilities (Area sq.m)	Total Cost (US$)	Unit Cost (US$/sq.m)	New Facilities (Area sq.m)	Total Cost (US$)	Unit Cost (US$/sq.m)
By Year 2010	2,501	296,455	118	1,204	218,107	181

Source: Earth Institute 2007.

In 2005, the MVP constructed one clinic to provide basic health care in the Sauri.[28] Patients start arriving at the clinic as early as 6.00am. Patients travel distances up to 8 kilometres to be at the clinic by 8.00AM when the clinic opens, and the clinic is crowded with patients with all kinds of ailments. The clinic had a staff of one doctor, two nurses, one laboratory technician, grid electricity and rainwater harvesting. The doctor Akyema said:

> We stock basic medicines to treat malaria and test HIV/AIDS patients. The supply intermittently comes from MVP and the Government of Kenya. Being the only clinic in Sauri patients from neighbouring villages come to the Sauri clinic due to a lack of health care in their own areas.

Both adults and children arrive very early so that they can see the doctor before it gets too hot. Five years after completion, during my fieldwork in 2009/2010, I observed that the clinic does not have enough chairs for people to sit on or for children to sleep while waiting to be attended (see Figure 6.2). A mother [Owiti, 32] with her three-year old baby complained: 'I walked as far as seven kilometres away to see the doctor and get drugs for my sick baby. At least the clinic should provide shade for patients from the strong afternoon sun'. The clinics have rudimentary conditions and are usually filled with patients of all ages each day of the week. This has far-reaching hygiene and care implications for the patients.

Outside the clinic was a covered waiting area furnished with benches. It was not big enough to accommodate the burden of the clinic's success: a queue of 50 people waiting to see the facility's sole doctor. More than 200 patients arrive for treatment every day. Most walk from their homes miles away.

[28] Basic health care involves access and treatment for villagers by qualified personnel, medicines, a small laboratory, community health workers, clean water and grid electricity.

Figure 6.2: Sauri health clinic opened in 2005

Source: Author (November 2009)

The community was provided with three Nissan truck converted to community clinic 'ambulances' to be used in case of medical complications (Figure 6.3). The ambulances transport the patient to the district hospital, particularly for women who are delivering a baby and require caesarean operation.

Figure 6.3: Sauri health clinic ambulance (Left) and bicycle used to carry sick to Yala Sub-District Hospital

Source: Author (November 2009)

The community ambulances are also used to carry patients who cannot walk to the hospital. It is on standby the whole day and night in case there is an emergency. One villager [Oketch, 63] revealed:

> Before we got the ambulance, we used to transport the sick to Yala Sub-District hospital using bicycles. Even now those villages not included within the project target area are still using bicycles to transport the sick. Moreover, unfortunately, there is no nurse or medical officer accompanying the ambulance when it is carrying a patient. At times, we have been called for assistance but we are unable to assist due to lack of fuel in the ambulance.

According to [Akyema, 45] transportation coordinator, the ambulances are supposed to crisscross the area transporting the sick. Unfortunately, most of the time the ambulances are not working due to lack of fuel and spare parts for repairs.

In 2007 and 2008, the MVP completed construction of an additional four health centres in the cluster and upgraded Yala sub-district hospital. The upgrades involved employing a registered doctor and seven new staff members: two clinical officers; two laboratory technologists; and three nurses. A new 32-bed ward, operating theatre, and incinerator were also constructed and have served to greatly enhance hospital facilities. One doctor, two dentists, seven clinical officers, 32 nurses, staff Sauri's health facilities and 83-trained CHW. When interviewed the doctor claimed 'In 2008 approximately 64,500 patients were treated for malaria at Sauri's clinics; 25,000 of those patients were under the age of five'. In addition to malaria reduction, significant improvements have been seen in maternal and child health, access to HIV/AIDS testing and therapy, and improvements in overall basic health care. For example, a mother [Okech, 38] revealed:

> When going into labour, I was referred to the local Health Centre in Sauri by my health worker. There, the midwives discovered that my twin babies were in breach. The MVP ambulance transferred me to the operating theatre in Kisumu City Hospital in time for skilled emergency obstetric equipment to safely deliver my twins. I am HIV positive, had received consistent counselling on how to stay healthy and prevent transmission to my babies during pregnancy and after childbirth. This, along with the caesarean operation, ensured that the chances of the twins being HIV negative were higher than 98%.

Financing health-related interventions remains a major challenge in the SMV. At the beginning of the health programme, all consultations and medicines were free. After some time, cost sharing was introduced and this is proved to be a challenge for the poorest of the poor who survive on subsistence farming and usually have little or no income from the sale of their crops. Increased donor funding over the last eight years has had the effect of easing some of the household burden. However, this is unsustainable due to the discontinuation or reduction of donor contributions.

This is a difficulty of the project, fully anticipated but difficult to prevent. In addition, it was observed that there is an added cost and workload on a few health centres with a limited supply of free drugs because neighbouring villagers have started travelling to Sauri for free medical care. At times the drugs run out and new supplies arrive late or are not available thus not having the desired impact on poverty alleviation. This underscores the importance of health in reducing poverty and explains why health is one of the largest sectors in the MVP.

The application of mobile phone-based technologies to generate real-time information on free clinics and medicines and the pressure on the three ambulances has made the project unsustainable. Free health is creating other difficulties due to Sauri being perceived as an 'island of relative prosperity in Western Province'. There is, of course, considerable migration into the village, both of long-term residents, or the migration of non-Luo individuals in search of particular services, especially health care at the village clinics and hospitals (A nurse [Odhiambo, 43] at the Sauri clinic).

6.4.2 Community based health management and finance

According to the MVP health team leader:

> since 2009, the MVP health team has been working on strengthening the health systems through a Community-Based Management for Health Programme. It is a three-prolonged approach: comprehensive training to community health workers; improvement of information collection and data management; and a strengthening of the supervision and management structure of community health systems.

She added:

> To complement other medication services, the pharmacy is stocked with an assortment of drugs. The purchasing of drugs is mainly funded by the Project, with occasional contributions from the Ministry of Health. The drugs cost the Project approximately US$4,167 every month. A number of laboratory tests are also carried out at the Sauri dispensary to help in diagnosing diseases properly. The most common diseases diagnosed and treated are malaria, respiratory tract infections, skin conditions, intestinal worms and diarrhoea. The tests carried out at the clinic include pregnancy tests, blood sugar, urinalysis, haemoglobin estimation, stool analysis for ova and cysts, blood smear for malaria and antenatal care profiles.

MVP started the CHW project so that anyone in Sauri can visit a CHW at his or her home anytime of the day if there is a medical crisis or an emergency. CHWs were responsible for spearheading the implementation of health interventions in the communities. A CHW [Odero, 35] explained:

> It's the CHWs [who have helped the health sector and the villagers]. They have really helped in taking services to the people in the community. Take for instance deworming children; they have done a very good job. It is more than service because these people come from the community and they tend to know the person they are serving very well and which makes a big difference.

CHWs also check houses to ensure that every sleeping space has a treated malaria bed net and that the house is clean. CHWs also help to keep medical records at the Sauri clinic and advise pre- and post-natal mothers and teach the whole community on the importance of sanitation. One mother [Lucy, 43] mentioned 'Community health workers are particularly critical in providing services at the lower levels of health care, because trained health professionals are not always enough in resource-poor countries'. She continued, that:

> Many patients, in Sauri only have a one-off contact with a trained health care professional, and this means the care these patients need cannot continue without these community health workers. They are very important in terms of passing on critical health messages.

Nevertheless, they need support as one CHW [Opiyo, 36] said 'I receive 2,000 Kenya shillings – about US$24 – every month to facilitate the work I do, but this doesn't even begin to cover my expenses'.

6.4.3 Insecticide-treated nets (ITN)

In order to support the work of health centres and community based health management, MVP introduced insecticide-treated nets (ITN), to prevent malaria infection but there have been few studies demonstrating the effectiveness of combining this strategy with the ITN. 48,000 insecticide-treated nets (ITN), particularly the long-lasting insecticidal nets that have been distributed throughout Sauri since 2005 (Sauri assistant health coordinator). He continued: 'Deployment of this intervention has had a major impact on malaria and reinvigorated the real hope of malaria elimination'. Similarly, a nurse at a clinic told me that each household received mosquito nets at the start of the project, but a sample test of villagers revealed that more than 40% had malaria. Malaria, a debilitating and sometimes deadly disease, is being treated free of charge with Coartem, an expensive drug unavailable in most parts of Kenya.

Daily use of ITN during bedtime at the community level has significantly reduced malaria infection. The study findings show a reduction in the prevalence of malaria over time in the intervention compared with the Nyanza province, after adjusting for baseline differences and other covariates. This was associated with approximately a 34% reduction in the odds of all malaria infection and a 50% reduction in falciparum malaria in the intervention group. However, fieldwork finding suggests that the use of mosquito repellent during the evening can improve the effectiveness of ITN against malaria and has important implications for malaria control programmes particularly in areas where vectors feed mainly in the evening. In addition, repellents could also help control outdoor biting vectors. Field data established that the proportion of young children sleeping under mosquito-repelling nets in Sauri has risen

sharply. When asked if this increase was due to MVP interventions, one villager [Adongo, 47] replied:

> However, these improvements might have happened anyway, without MVP. The use of treated mosquito-repelling nets in Nyanza province (the region of which Sauri is part) also increased over the years because of Kenya government efforts countrywide.

While staying at a hotel in Kisumu, I met Bart Knols, chairperson of the advisory board of the Dutch Malaria Foundation, who has visited Sauri and has extensive experience in Africa. He called the anti-malaria effort 'commendable, in the sense that efforts to offer a complete "package" [drugs, vaccination, health and education] may bear fruit'. However, he quickly added, 'Where I am more doubtful is in the sustainability of this approach when handing over takes place and the Kenyan government has to supply these services'.

6.4.4 HIV/AIDS

Sauri was beset by HIV/AIDS before the MVP (MVP 2007). In the Sauri cluster overall, Ministry of Health statistics show that 24% of cluster residents were afflicted with HIV/AIDS. There was one medical doctor at the Yala Sub-District Hospital that borders the Sauri sub-location, until January 2005. Yala Sub-District Hospital was the main referral point for Sauri residents who needed comprehensive HIV/AIDS care. The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention supports the activities at the Yala Patient Support Centre. The MVP health coordinator stated that with the rehabilitation of one old health facility, and the construction of eight new centres, they have tested 5,342 persons and treated 2,851 being on ARTs and doubled the use of contraceptives.

In conclusion, the rehabilitated clinics have rudimentary conditions and are usually filled with patients of all ages each day of the week. This has far reaching hygiene and care implications for the patients. The three Nissan truck converted 'ambulances' due to lack of fuel and spare parts most of the time not operational. Fieldwork discovered foreign aid financing health-related interventions remains a major challenge in the SMVP due to the discontinuation or reduction of donor contributions after 2015 thus making the interventions unsustainable and a model for KV2030.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has presented data on the Sauri Millennium Village project implementation using MVP administration structures and the outcomes of interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health, and the progress and outcomes of implementation discussed. The purpose of this chapter was to identify and analyse MVP big push interventions in agriculture, education and health based on the lived experiences of villagers

in Sauri, in order to answer broad research questions and analyse their relevance to KV2030. The director of the MVP Sachs of Columbia University, states that a top priority of the project was to 'raise community incomes' and to meet the MDGs. Sachs asserts that 'incomes are rising' and that this 'enormously successful' effort is 'achieving its goals'. However, Demombynes (2010) claims these statements are not supported by scientific impact evaluation. Further, he asserts:

> To date the project has not released any numerical data on the impact of the project on recipients' incomes. It has released extensive data on the sites apart from income, and is collecting data on incomes, so it is noteworthy that the project releases no analysis of impacts on incomes.

The success narratives by MVP show that the MVP 'big-push' model, discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.2.1, has been successfully implemented (Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3), with impressive achievements in agriculture, local economic activities, education and health for overall short-term benefits to a limited number of residents in Sauri. My fieldwork, and more than 50% of the interviewees that have been interviewed for this study, support these proclamations. Some beneficiaries of MVP agree. Odhiambo [57] said that 'villagers have increased their staple food production, primary school enrolment has increased and malaria infestation rates have declined'. My fieldwork revealed some contradictions about claims made by the MVP. Based on my field data and observations I argue that the narratives provided by the MVP personnel do not provide a full picture. On closer inspection, though, these numbers turn out to be less dramatic because the purported MVP achievements with substantial foreign aid may have affected in a small way, a limited number of residents in Sauri, especially in poverty reduction and sustainability, these being the main objectives of the MVP.

Even though the MVP claims responsibility for some of the improvements as 'impacts' of the project it is probable that some or all of these changes would have happened without SMV. To better understand the MVP related interventions in Sauri and place them into comparative perspective, it is necessary to look at data for similar issues in other regions. Dr Kiambo Njagi, a senior officer within the Division of Malaria Control within the Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation (The Standard, May 3 2013, p. 6) says:

> About 30 million [Kenya total population is about 38.3 million, 2012 census] bed nets have been distributed in Kenya since 2001 and the government is in the process of increasing net coverage in the country … after successful mass distribution of nets, now there is a big challenge of getting rid of decommissioned ones … it is such a serious issue that Kenya has set up a committee to establish the safest ways of disposing of old nets without polluting the environment. Although mosquito nets are recyclable, Kenya has no recycling facilities.

Development is without doubt taking place all through rural Kenya due to the implementation of the KV2030 project discussed in Chapter 1, because the Kenyan government and

international aid projects are applying the same kinds of interventions (e.g. ITN, agriculture, free primary education, health care) more widely. However, progress within the MVP sites is probably faster and more all-inclusive for the reason that the interventions are better financed with foreign aid, better delivered, and more systematically managed (Clemens & Demombynes 2010). A New York University professor and former World Bank economist, William Easterly is of the opinion:

> The idea of investing vast sums of money to close the poverty gap in Africa was tried in the 1950s and '60s, and failed. He says that Sachs's book peddles an "administrative central plan" in which the UN secretary-general "would supervise and coordinate thousands of international civil servants and technocratic experts to solve the problems of every poor village and city slum everywhere". (Rich 2010, p. 6)

Local leadership, the power of the District Officer and the Chief, at the MVP site continues to play a constructive role in supporting the implementation, scale-up and sustainability of those interventions. The rapid progress in Sauri is possibly due to massive independent foreign funding and staffing independent of the MVP (Clemens & Demombynes 2010). Ascribing the entire transformation in Sauri to the MVP, however, can be misleading.

The rapidly changing and deteriorating global economy is seriously affecting funding of the project and donor funding is steadily declining. The project is therefore accelerating the transition from full subsidies to credits for inputs, while working to raise global donor aid for input financing in Sauri. This is why one of the biggest flaws in the design of the MDGs is that there is too much focus on the end goal, without having paid enough attention to the means and sustainability. During fieldwork, I would ask the team leaders, staff members and beneficiaries of the interventions questions such as:

- What would happen to the 134 staff and the project at the end of 2015 when the project finishes?
- Would the agriculture yields, education, and health care be better by 2015?
- Did the villagers believe the interventions had brought them out of poverty?
- Would they be able to keep up and sustain the interventions when the money ran out and did they want to?"

Moreover, MVP staff members seemed reluctant to criticise the project. This is a common attitude and problem in development projects that are aid-dependent. The employers and the villagers do not want to criticise their donors and bite the hand that feeds them. 'Sustainability is a challenge', admitted Massira, when asked about the continuity of the MVP after 2015. 'We realise the need to demonstrate and hand things [SMVP] over to the government and the

people. People have become accustomed to the free services; they will demand them from the government'.

As disclosed from the discussion in this chapter, massive foreign aid can bring temporary benefits, as is the case with Sauri. The findings of the implementations and outcomes of the SMVP are discussed in the next chapter within the context of literature in Chapter 3.

Chapter 7: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The previous chapter discussed SMVP implementation and outcomes under three specific themes: agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health interventions. In this chapter, the findings of the SMVP implementation and outcomes (Chapter 6) discussed within the context of the problem posed in Chapter 1 and literature discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The findings discussed are based on fieldwork and lived experiences of villagers in Sauri and their relevance to the broad research questions.

Three fundamental objectives drove the collection of the data and the subsequent data analysis. Those objectives were to develop a base of knowledge about (i) poverty in Sauri and impacts of MVP interventions on poverty; (ii) implementation and organisational and post-sustainability of concluded SMVP inter-related interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health programmes; (iii) and suitability of foreign aid and the big push model for KV2030 development model.

These objectives were accomplished. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate the potential for merging theory and practice. The first section of this chapter presents findings on poverty and its effects in Sauri. The second section of this chapter is a discussion of findings of implementation and organisational and post-sustainability of concluded SMVP inter-related interventions in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health programmes. The final section is a discussion on suitability of foreign aid and the big push approach to alleviate poverty in Sauri.

7.1 Poverty in Sauri and impact of MVP interventions on poverty

The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the theories of poverty in the literature in Chapter 2 is that poverty is a very complex social problem with many variants and different roots, all of which have validity depending on the situation (Blank 2003; Martin 2003; Shaw 1996, p. 28). Therefore, depending on the context of the situation and the views of the persons conceptualising the phenomenon, definitions of poverty vary and the individualistic, cultural and structural theories strive to address the causes of poverty rather than understanding poverty from a villagers' perspective, to find practical solutions to the reduction of poverty. This context provides a framework upon which poverty reduction strategies may be built in that the framework addresses poverty from different perspectives and one's perspective of poverty determines the kind of strategies used to reduce poverty. Increasing the effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes requires that those designing and implementing those programs

need to not only develop adequate theories of poverty to guide programmes, but they must make sure that the poverty reduction approaches such as the MVP are as comprehensive as possible based on villagers' perspectives.

This first part of the section is a discussion regarding an understanding of poverty in Sauri. In the first instance, it is important to begin with an understanding of poverty from the villagers' perspective and to know more about poverty before efforts are expended to eliminate it, or at least reduce poverty, and to ascertain if there are any issues hindering foreign aid supported poverty alleviation strategies in Sauri. The next sub section is a discussion about whether SMVP implementation contributed to poverty reduction and achieved development goals such as those related to agriculture and non-agriculture, health and education.

7.1.1 Understanding poverty in Sauri

As discussed in the literature chapter, there are many definitions of poverty depending on the context and the views of the person defining it. Therefore, to obtain an understanding of a local construction of poverty in Sauri, I conducted a household survey to find out more about poverty from the villagers. The survey results indicated that Sauri Luo households classified their progress out of poverty in terms of the acquisition of goods, and that this definition was context-specific and not the WB/MDGs definition of US$1.25 a day. First, they acquired shared basic shelter, food, then clothes, then a cell phone. Next, they acquired independent basic shelter. Any money earned is used to pay for their children's education. Then, they bought livestock such as chickens, goats, sheep and dairy cattle for food and as investments. The Luo villagers believe that once they had acquired farm animals, they were no longer regarded as under-privileged within their community. A summary of the stages of poverty derived from household field data collected during my study has been evaluated and segmented into strata that are provided in Figure 7.1.

The first poverty line represents 'poor and hungry', as constructed by the villagers. The poor and hungry were completely dependent on their parents or grandparents, living mainly on subsistence farming. The second poverty line represents 'poor' with basic shelter, food, clothing and able to afford a chicken occasionally. It is interesting to note that even when they were poor, a cell phone introduced in Sauri around 1995 was a status symbol almost more important than saving money for medicine and household needs thus hindering poverty alleviation. The third stage is being 'relatively well-off' and the fourth 'well-off'. According to The Earth Institute (2007) 79% of the population live on less than US$1 per day and 89.5% live on less than US$2 per day. In my second group discussion in Sauri, two participants [Adida, 35 and Obura, 73] argued that the MVP was misrepresenting the socio-economic

status of the community because not everyone was poor. Abura argued that Sauri was better endowed with natural resources for agriculture production and some villagers had non-farm incomes; therefore not all villagers can be classified as being 'poor'. Agriculture production varies depending on land available for agriculture. A person or family with access to subsistence resources, for example, subsistence farmers, may have a low cash income (less than US$1.25, per day) without a correspondingly low standard of living – they are not living 'on' their cash income but using it as a top up for their wage income from casual employment.

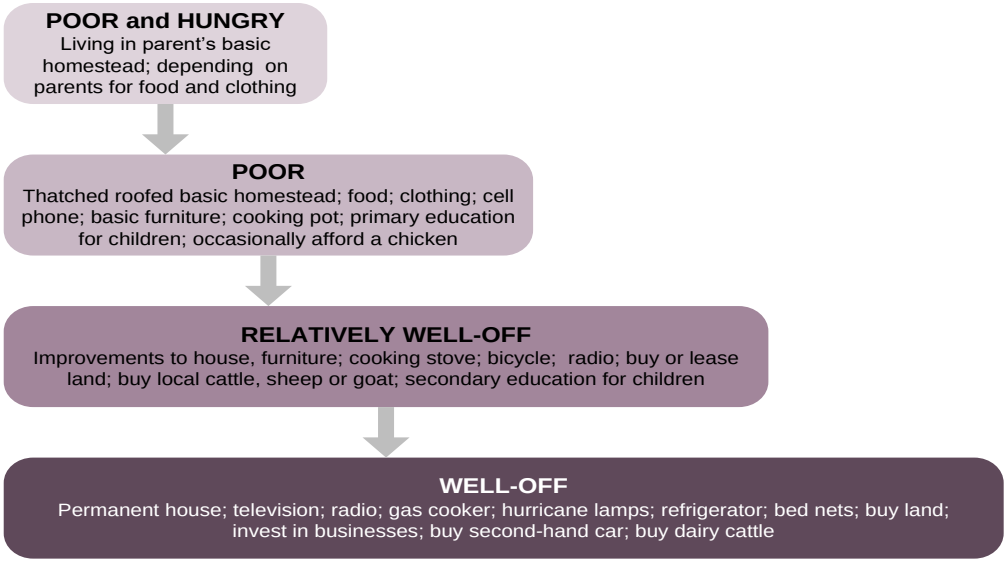

Figure 7.1: Four stages of succession from poverty in the Sauri Millennium Village

Source: Author's own work based on data from fieldwork analysis.

To determine whether the MVP interventions in the village have reduced poverty and improved the lives of the villagers, each randomly, selected Luo household was asked through open-ended questions to describe their poverty status (based on MDGs assumptions) now and before the interventions. This involved referring continuously to the shared understanding of stages of growth (see Table 7.3). Ranking each household's progress in terms of the successive stages mutually agreed upon allowed me to verify who was indeed poor in each period, and helped me evaluate in relative terms how poor they were in each period. For instance, could they afford basic food (Ugali[29] and Sukuma wiki[30]), clothes, primary school books but not shelter; did they progress through each stage or were they unable to move on to the next stage, possessing first chickens, then goats and sheep and finally cattle, in that order?

[29] Ugali (also sometimes called sima, sembe or posho) is a dish of maize flour (cornmeal) cooked with water to a porridge- or dough-like consistency. It is the most common staple starch featured in the rural local cuisines of the eastern African Great Lakes region and Southern Africa.

[30] In Kenya and many parts of East Africa, Colewort is more commonly known by their Swahili name, Sukuma Wiki, and are often referred to as Kale. The literal translation of the phrase 'sukuma wiki' is to 'push the week' or 'stretch the week'. It is a vegetable that is generally affordable and available all-year round in this region. It forms part of the staple dish in this region together with Ugali or Sima.

In each case, it was important to ask probing questions to ascertain the most critical reasons that often acted in combination. Frequently, it was necessary to interview the same households for a time to probe and verify reasons for change or lack of change. Sometimes, individual members were interviewed separately, which proved useful in the triangulation of the responses.

Table 7.1: Categories of poor after the MVP interventions

			Percentage
1.	Poor before the interventions and poor now	Remained poor	14.0
2.	Poor before the interventions and not poor now	Escaped poverty	20.5
3.	Not poor before the interventions and poor now	Became poor	17.5
4.	Not poor before the interventions and not poor now	Remained non-poor	48.0

Source: Author's own work based on data from fieldwork analysis. (Also see Figure 6.1: Four Stages of Succession from Poverty in Sauri Millennium Village).

Forty-three households were surveyed of a total 13,923 households. The estimated total population of Sauri is 60,234 individuals. It was possible to proceed from household to household with efficiently collected data of high quality and quantity. This led to cataloguing households into four categories corresponding with the four stages (Figure 7.1): remained poor, escaped poverty, became poor and remained non-poor (see Table 7.1). As shown in Table 6.3, 14% of all present-day households have remained poor over the last 10 years. The reasons cited were that they were too old with a very small plot, just enough for their subsistence needs. Although all household own traditional land the small parcels of land were not suitable for high yield crops such as banana, maize and old age limited their involvement in both agricultural activities and non-agricultural interventions promoted by the MVP.

It is apparent from the Table 6.3 that only 20.5% of those who were once 'poor', escaped poverty mainly due to growth in agriculture using improved seeds and chemical fertilisers provided at no cost to the farmers. Fourteen per cent of the population 'remained poor'; 17.5% were previously 'not poor' but became poor; and 48% were previously 'not poor' and remained 'non-poor' after the Sauri interventions. However, the SMV was selected by The Earth Institute based on their definition of poverty, claiming that '79% of the population live on less than US$1 per day and 89.5% on less than US$2 per day' (Earth Institute 2008). The Earth Institute data on programme implementation and poverty reduction was presented and discussed in Chapter 6 of this study. As revealed by this research the concept of poverty perceived by the villagers is different from that of the purely monetary perspective as used by the Earth Institute and the MVP.

Luo respondents cited one of the main reasons for falling into poverty was poor health and health-related expenses; hence the importance of health related interventions. Seventy-six per cent of households that had fallen into poverty mentioned sicknesses, poor health and high healthcare expenses as the foremost reason for their households' decline into enduring poverty.[31] Other reasons cited included large funeral expenses (65.6%); low level of education (54.4%); large family size (37.6%); unproductive land (48.8%); death of a major income earner (41.6%); and high dependencies (29.9%).

The death of a major earner (usually the husband) due to illness was mentioned as a principal reason for falling into poverty in 41% of those interviewed. The resulting burden of dependence placed on these Luo households by survivors, including orphans, contributed to the descent into poverty in another 29% cases. The case of a householder [Abila] highlighted a widespread reason why households fall into poverty:

> Abila a Luo is 75 years old and is a widow. She lives in SMV cluster and did not go to school because she had to stay home to help her parents fetch water and firewood. By 1978, she was staying at home practicing subsistence farming, since her husband, the family bread earner, had died from illness. In 1985, her brother gave her money to start a small business in order to pay for her children's education. In 1992, she fell ill and could not continue with her business. In 1993, eight of her goats were stolen. This weakened her economic status considerably. Later she restocked with four cattle paid as bride wealth when her two daughters got married. However in 1997, the two bulls were stolen from her kraal and she is now left with only two cows. She subsists and supports six grandchildren off her 1/16 ha piece of land. She said "I am too old to benefit from MVP".

Conversely, 20.5% of households that were considered poor before the intervention have managed to overcome poverty during the MVP interventions in agriculture and small enterprise development, as explained by another householder [Odhiambo, 54], a proud mother quite fluent in English:

> I have two acres of land that was used for banana, maize and sweet potatoes during two harvesting seasons. The food was enough for us and my five children. Odhiambo continues ... "in January 2005, I was approached by a staff from Millennium who promised to improve my shamba [small farm] and increase my output by using improved maize seeds and fertilizers being distributed free to villagers in Sauri by Millennium project. Thanks to Millennium now I am harvesting 26 bags of maize about 80 kilograms instead of about 15 from my two acres. Now I sell more than half, which gives me an income to buy other household items".

Other farmers attribute the small but real changes in their lives to gains made since the advent of the Sauri MVP. For their higher yields and incomes, they credit new seed varieties and fertilisers. 'I used to apply fertiliser before, but since the Millennium project, we have gotten a real boost from the fertilisers', said a female farmer [Odika], a 53 year old widow who heads a homestead of eight children. Other households benefited by diversification of farm production programmes. They accepted MVP dairy goats for milk because goats occupy little

[31] It is not just HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis that are responsible for the decline of these households into poverty. Poor health, hygiene and high healthcare expenses have been ravaging these poor households' economies long before AIDS emerged as a major problem in Sauri.

space (see Mrs Pamela Onyalo's smallholder dairy goat farming, Chapter 6). Four of the others who have moved out of poverty think the sale of surplus milk adds secondary income to their families, an insurance against emergencies and unpredictable weather conditions. A fish farmer [Ogutu, 49] narrated:

> In tune with Luo traditional food practices, fish ponds and aquaculture has increased my income and diet of my family. Income per pond is approximately KShs25,000 (US$330) after 6 months, with yields ranging from 250 to 1,000 Tilapia and Catfish fed on locally available feed.

Table 7.2: Major reasons for escaping poverty*

	Reason for escaping poverty	Percentage
1.	Employment in private or public sector (away from the MVP)	83.0
2.	Additional income from crop farming maize, bananas, dairy farming	56.6
3.	Diversification into goat and fish farming and Millennium Honey project	30.2
4.	Assistance from family, relatives or friends	40.1
5.	Informal/petty/businesses category (*Jua Kali*)	54.7
6.	Reduction in family size	39.6
7.	Education	3.8
8.	Bride wealth	9.4

Source: Author's own work based on data from fieldwork analysis.
*These numbers do not add up to 100% because each informant interviewed had multiple reasons for their change in status.

This is an indication that the MDGs projects had improved the lives of 20.5% of the villagers in Sauri thus partial success in alleviating poverty. Nevertheless, 20% of households lacked food security due to the small size of their land (see Chapter 2) and large families. Table 7.2 presents the eight most important reasons given by the villagers for escaping poverty as described by these relatively successful Luo households. It is important to note that not all the households escaped poverty because of the MVP interventions. The main reason for escaping poverty (83%) was employment in private or public sector. Therefore, the contribution of SMVP was insignificant in spite of massive foreign aid.

Twenty point five per cent of households that escaped poverty, according to Table 7.4, mentioned that they had more than enough milk for their family needs. The surplus milk was sold and additional money was earned through the sale of young goats. The case of dairy farmer [Senaji] highlighted his escape from poverty:

> Senaji, a Luo, is 58 years old. He lives in the Sauri Millennium Village cluster. Twenty-five years ago, he was still a student in secondary school. He came from a very poor family. His parents were peasant farmers owning a very small piece of land – 0.3 ha and no livestock. After his secondary school, he was lucky enough to join the police force. With his salary from the police force, he managed to buy 1.5 ha of land on which he has established a compound. On this piece of land, with 100% subsidies and assistance from the MVP, he grows bananas and maize. With income from agriculture, he has managed to buy four cross-bred cows and uses a semi-zero grazing system. His cows produce enough milk for his family and have extra milk to sell each day. After retiring from the police force, dairy farming has been his main source of income which generates more income than his previous salary as a policeman (Field note, 3 March 2010).

However, this achievement is offset by the experiences of 17.5% of households, which have fallen into poverty during the same period. In the interest of diversification, and to move Luo farmers away from subsistence farming, some interventions introduced 'high-value crops' instead of their traditional food crops like maize and sweet potatoes. For instance, some farmers were trained in the growing of chilli for selling to Mace Foods Limited in Eldoret Town about 120 kilometres from Sauri. Luos do not use chilli in their food. These farmers were taken for exchange visits and numerous training sessions conducted in the field with external trainers from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Horticulture Development Board. Seeds for the chilli were purchased and given to approximately 30 farmers, who piloted the project. However, challenges emerged, ranging from unfavourable weather and the logistics of transporting on rough roads to Mace Foods Ltd. In the end, less than eight farmers harvested their crop. Seven farmers, who attempted to remain with the project, did not produce enough to warrant the continuing of the project. Eventually, the project failed and affected the seven farmers negatively as they had used their small parcels of land for growing mainly chillies instead of their traditional crops such as maize for their daily meals.

Forty eight per cent of the households reported no significant change in the quality of their lives: they were not poor before the MVP interventions and are not poor now. Luo respondents indicated that this was mainly due having big parcels of land, small businesses and remittances from family members working in urban areas. Three farmers said they received no assistance due to favouritism from project offices at MVP. One of the farmers [Ojwang, 71] who did not receive any assistance from SMP said:

> In 1998, I was retired from position as Headmaster of Highway Secondary School in Nairobi. I came back home to Sauri and started a small school on farm. Two years later my son finished his diploma in agriculture and returned home and started farming my compound of four acres by planting mangoes, avocadoes, pawpaw and maize. With his knowledge in agriculture I did not seek any advice from the Millennium project. Over the years income from my school and farm has increased considerably therefore in March 2008, I was able to start a poultry farm. My poultry farm produces 70–90 eggs per day, which my wife sells at the big market in Kosele region. The combined income from school, fruit and poultry farm is enough to cater for our whole family of nine (Field note, 8 March 2010)..

In other households, their poverty status remained unchanged, mainly because they were able to diversify their household income sources through someone in the household obtaining a job

in the formal private or public sector in neighbouring towns. The majority of these jobs were found within the private sector. Government jobs are rare, usually ethnically based and hard to get unless one is recommended from the same tribe. This, in turn, has made the villagers unsure of MVP economically, socially and environmentally in spite of massive foreign aid thus hindering MVP poverty reduction programmes and their post-sustainability, as summarised by the villagers in Table 7.3 and discussed next.

Table 7.3: Summary of findings of interventions in Sauri in years (2004–2010)

	YES	%	NO	%	UNSURE	%
Whether MVP targeted the poor?	57	42	63	46	16	12
Whether by participating in MVP, income enhanced and poverty alleviated?	48	35	58	42	30	23
Whether agriculture output increased?	125	92	11	8	0	0
Whether income from non-agriculture increased?	35	26	43	32	58	42
Whether primary school enrolment has increased?	125	92	11	8	0	0
Whether child mortality has decreased?	64	47	25	17	47	36
Whether maternal health has improved?	68	50	15	10	53	40
Whether HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases have decreased?	72	53	55	40	9	7
Whether environmental sustainability has improved?	46	34	38	28	52	38
Whether interventions are sustainable after 2015 both from post implementation operation and maintenance?	15	11	112	82	9	7

Sample size (136): Households 43; Non-random interviews 36; Questionnaires 57

Source: Author's own work based on data from fieldwork analysis.

7.1.2 Findings of agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health interventions in Sauri

7.1.2.1 Agriculture and non-agriculture interventions

One of the aims of the MVP is to generate more income for participants, and this of course is directly monetised. Discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the agriculture and non-agriculture sectoral staffs at the MVP have been working with the Sauri community to increase household incomes to meet the target of halving the proportion of people whose income is less than US$1.25 a day. According to data provided from the MVP, to date, 174 on-farm and 331 off-farm businesses have been established (see Table 5.1). In Sauri, the MVP spends US$50,000 a year on artificial fertilisers (SMV 2007) compared to nothing before the

interventions, as is the case countrywide except commercial farming. Maize production had more than doubled to five tons per hectare, making over 80% of households food secure, but storage facilities for the surplus maize had not been catered for at the planning stage of the interventions.

When compared to neighbouring villages the SMV obtained only slightly better achievements at far greater expense (Wanjala and Muradian 2010). This is a result of the Millennium Villages' use of artificial fertilisers and hybrids seeds (often of plants such as corn, which are not indigenous to the area). According to Kerr (2011), use of fertilisers and genetically modified seeds leads to dependence of the farmers on expensive products being marketed by large industrial companies. However, the chairperson of the agriculture sub-committee cautioned about the sustainability of the project when artificial fertilisers are phased out by 2015. By contrast, the use of crop diversity to improve soil health is a low cost, and thus far more sustainable, solution.

The shift from subsidies to links with micro-finance institutions in Sauri is extending farm inputs to some farmers, enabling them to diversify into high-value crops. However, the implication of shifting from full subsidy to full loan financing was that the number of farmers participating in the programme significantly dropped from 100% to only about 10%, with those dropping out either accessing their own inputs or reverting to traditional farming practices. These issues not only influence on the effectiveness of the programme, but also on the sustainability of programme gains.

To address poverty and hunger in the village, the MVP initiated a number of income-generating, non-farming projects such as goat and poultry breeding, fish farming, bee keeping for honey, tree nurseries and water conservation projects. In addition, the MVP rehabilitated the Yala River Piped Water Supply, an extensive water system drawing water from the Yala River. Since then, it has rarely functioned properly due to financial constraints and lack of maintenance. Similarly, in many of the other interventions there are administrative, financial and logistics barriers. For example, the cereal bank project was one of the initiatives that the MVP sought to introduce to the community through the agricultural sector. Community members were trained in the advantages of a community-managed cereal bank and how such a project would help in storing or marketing surplus agricultural produce. However, the project did not materialise as was anticipated due to misconduct [corruption] by those who were appointed as managers of the cereal bank.

In conclusion, although there was a substantial growth in agricultural output, this growth in agricultural yield could be credited to higher input usage, mainly through subsidies, improved

seeds and fertiliser. However, the outcome of general household income was insignificant because only 20.5% of those who were 'poor before' escaped poverty mainly due to agriculture growth because of improved seeds and chemical fertilisers provided at no cost to the farmers. The main reason for escaping poverty (83%) was employment in private or public sector. Therefore, the contribution of SMVP was insignificant in spite of massive foreign aid.

7.1.2.2 Education interventions

SMV has made significant progress with substantial foreign aid in educational infrastructures in Sauri. At the beginning of the interventions, there were 31 schools in the Sauri cluster. The MVP has implemented a variety of interventions targeting the goal of UPE. These are to increase student access to school, make available non-formal education opportunities, universal school-meal coverage, and improved quality of education. In 2008, 20 new classrooms were constructed, and 24 classrooms were planned to be completed in 2009. More than 200 infrastructure improvements were also made, including water points, rainwater harvesting, electricity, classroom rehabilitation and gender-sensitive pit latrines. In collaboration with local partners and Ministries of Education, practical literacy classes personalised to the needs of the learners and their schedules were implemented in ten MVP sites. Targeting school leavers and adult learners, the MVP enrolled over 6,500 students in informal education programmes. The MVP school meals programme aimed to increase food security and increase enrolment in primary schools by providing a homegrown, daily, nutritious meal for children as recommended by the UN Millennium Project Hunger Task Force. Since 2007, according to SMV (2010) when these programmes, were launched, the project has seen tremendous success, with nearly all sites offering a daily meal to all schoolchildren in 2008.

However, SMV cannot take all the credit for increased enrolment to 98% with 94% school attendance because progress regarding education is partly due to the implementation of the free primary school education programme by the Presidential Decree of 2002, as discussed in Chapter 5 under education. Because of the Presidential Decree of 2002, enrolment increased to 96% nationally. Field visits revealed that some work has been completed in Sauri in terms of building and rehabilitating old schools, installing rainwater harvesting equipment and constructing VIP toilets. However, there is still an acute shortage of trained teachers and funds to build additional schools. However, serious challenges have frustrated the implementation of the FPE policy (UNICEF & World Bank 2007). They include congested

classrooms, limited physical facilities and a shortage of qualified teachers, which negatively influenced the quality of teaching and learning in schools.

Since the MVP and Kenya government cannot implement and sustain FPE alone, it depends on international donors for funding and accountability. Other challenges compromising MVP's success in UPE include: building teaching capacity and the regular payment of salaries for employment sustainability; lack of political commitment critical for successful implementation; the prevalence of unwieldy bureaucracy, and corruption, at the national level interfering with effective disbursement of donor funds; and the need for partnership at every level of implementation, which is imperative to the success of the programme. The success of FPE in Sauri [Kenya] can only be assured if disbursements of foreign aid are detached from political deliberations and manipulations.

7.1.2.3 Health interventions

Interventions in health have included the development and rehabilitation of health centres, hiring and training of health personnel, community health workers, distribution of mosquito nets and Ventilated Improved Pit toilets (VIP). The MVP health team has been working on strengthening health systems through a Community-Based Management for Health Programme. It is a three-pronged approach: comprehensive training to community health workers; improvement of information collection and data management; and a strengthening of the supervision and management structure of community health systems. To complement these services, a pharmacy is stocked with an assortment of drugs. The purchasing of drugs is mainly funded by the Project, with occasional contributions from the Ministry of Health. The drugs cost the Project approximately US$4,167 every month. A number of laboratory tests are also carried out at the Sauri dispensary to help in diagnosing diseases properly. The most common diseases diagnosed and treated are malaria, respiratory tract infections, skin conditions, intestinal worms and diarrhoea. The tests carried out at the clinic include pregnancy tests, blood sugar, urinalysis, haemoglobin estimation, stool analysis for ova and cysts, blood smear for malaria and antenatal care profiles. Yala Sub-District Hospital is the main referral point for Sauri residents who need comprehensive HIV/AIDS care. The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention supports the activities at the Yala Patient Support Centre. Progress in health has been encouraging (see Table 6.3), however the MVP, which cannot be replicated on a macro-scale, country wide, because of the economic and political challenges, can attribute this mainly to huge financial investments.

Carr (2008, p. 334) argues, 'in order to improve and develop health facilities in Sauri, SMV had no choice but to develop policies and programmes that are a reflection of and endorsed by

the MDGs and global health'. While MDGs model projects in health, largely, influence Kenyan ministries and the SMV projects do contain shallow socio-cultural components, there is very little understanding of what constitutes local practices and more significantly, why such practices are conducted. Nonetheless, these development approaches dictate what behaviours the villagers should adopt. Local practices can be more affordable and sustainable but this concept is missing in the MDGs discourse (Carr 2008). The result of this MDGs neglect (unintentional/intentional) is that development approaches do not reflect the reality of the situation in Sauri discussed in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the limited participation of the villagers leads to only limited success in sustaining the behaviour and well-being of villagers. For example, resources in Sauri are directed towards HIV/AIDS, because of a calculated burden, with notably less attention paid to other diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis where the incidence and mortality can be higher than HIV/AIDS.

However, Michael Clemens of the Centre for Global Development, a think-tank, and Gabriel Demombynes, a World Bank economist, compared development trends in health (HIV testing, Figures 7.4) in the clinic in Sauri versus the village Uranga not touched by MVP, and show that estimates of the project's effects depend heavily on the evaluation method. Clemens and Demombynes (2012) demonstrate that:

> Uranga clinic's facilities look similar to those we saw at the clinic in Sauri. The facility is funded largely through its modest fees but also receives support from the Catholic Church and a government grant programme. Sister Anita Odera, who heads the facility and is clearly a deeply dedicated and warm-hearted woman, told us that since 2006, she has seen an increase in the rates of child immunization and HIV testing, and that more births now take place at the clinic rather than in homes.

Clemens and Demombynes (2012) believe these and other narratives suggest that it is worth asking how trends inside the Sauri reported by the MVP compare to trends outside the intervention sites. But narratives can mislead, so their study compared data from the SMV reported by the MVP to data from large-scale surveys carried out across the surrounding region and country (Clemens & Demombynes 2012) for HIV testing. Figure 7.2 from their study show changes at Sauri, compared to trends in country rural, Kenya, MV region and SMV.

These diagrams make it clear why equating the before-and-after situation in SMV, as the MVP mid-term evaluation does, may give an overstated sense of the project's effects. The brown lines (MV region rural) demonstrate that both of these indicators were on upward trends in rural Nyanza, the province where Sauri is located. Clemens and Demombynes (2012, p. 3) 'strongly suggest that the [MVP] assumption that no change would have taken place in Sauri in the absence of the MVP intervention is incorrect'. Pronyk, McArthur, Singh

& Sachs (2013) – all associated with, and defenders of, MVP – agree that progress is indeed occurring all over rural sub-Saharan Africa, since the identical types of interventions (e.g. bed nets, medicines, mobile-based health care, and the like) are being taken up more widely. However, because of better-financed interventions through foreign aid, hence better delivered, and more systematically managed that progress within Sauri is probably faster and more inclusive. Clemens and Demombynes (2010) point out that there was a fundamental flaw in the way in which progress in the Villages was evaluated. Essentially, the evaluation looked at changes in measures of performance over time, but it did not make comparisons to any type of baseline (Economist View 2012), and thus additional randomised trials are needed to disentangle what the millennium programme is doing from what is actually happening anyway. In such a trial, each village would be paired with a similar one not receiving the same help, and the results compared.

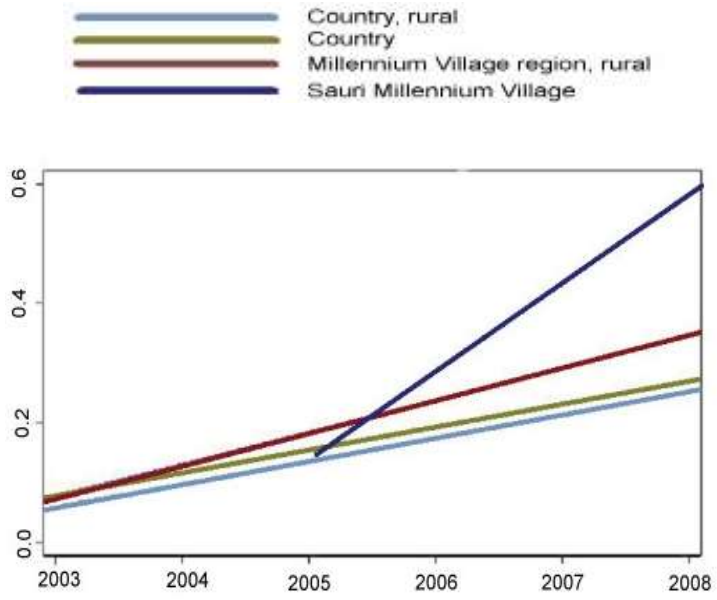

Figure 7.2: HIV testing, age 15–49 years (vertical axis is per cent)

Source: Clemens & Demombynes 2012.

For the most part, the health interventions represent a progression of narrowly focused and sector-specific development ideas and campaigns tried since the sixties. The MVP's quick-fix proposals, such as supplying mosquito nets to the poverty-stricken, seem naive in the face of the extent of the greatest plague, malaria, in SMV and Africa in general. Bed nets treated with insecticide are a great way to tackle the scourge of malaria – theoretically. However, fieldwork findings established there are big logistical problems, including distribution, looting, and costs. In addition, even if MVP solves those, there is no guarantee that people will use them for the purposes intended. Sometimes they use them to protect their goats, or to catch fish. The trouble is that malaria is so prevalent that many people treat it as an inevitable

unpleasant fact. In Kenya, years of social marketing campaigns to promote the use of bed nets have scarcely made a difference. Therefore, Sachs' micro approach one off limited in Saui is not new but is largely inadequate and limits itself to the productive as well as development. Based on fieldwork findings the approach is based on solving immediate problems in Sauri but fails to create sustainable solutions, as is the focus of Kenyan countrywide KV2030 blueprint for sustainability that is discussed in the next section.

7.2 Post implementation operation, maintenance and sustainability of SMVP

It became clear from the review of the literature, that the three interdependent and interrelated concepts, poverty, sustainability an foreign aid that are relevant to this study for explaining the meaning, nature, challenges and evaluation of the phenomenon being investigated, are very complex. Discussion of findings in the previous section 6.1 confirmed the major weaknesses of the MVP are its dependency on foreign aid, lack of understanding of local poverty (see 7.1.1), structures (see Figure 6.1) and local conditions. Further no existing plans in terms of post-implementation operation and maintenance and sustainability of SMVP interventions as well as lingering structural issues that risk equity and sustainability in Kenya's development. This is partly explained by Munk (2014):

> A basic flaw of the Millennium Villages program is that it is developed by academics living far away from the subject areas and with a poor understanding of local cultures, who do things such as promoting growing vegetables among people who have not historically eaten it or building enterprises when there was no local demand.

Sustainability was not explicitly or implicitly addressed apart from an 'understanding' that the Kenya Government would take responsibility for the continuity of the project after 2015 (SMV 2007). Mr Gideon Mailu, National Project Coordinator MDGs, on 24 August 2009 at his office in the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and Kenya Vision 2030, categorically denied that there was any 'understanding' between the Ministry of Planning and the MVP to take over the SMVP after 2015. Mailu said:

> Kenya is a multiethnic society; we cannot be seen favouring one village by dispensing millions in Sauri. How about hundreds of other villages in Kenya? Moreover, the government due to other more pressing national development requirements is in no position both financially and manpower to replicate Sauri in all the villages in Kenya – Kenya Vision 2030 is making good progress and the MDGs will be taken care as we progress towards 2030.

My study questions how extreme poverty and hunger will be reduced by half in Sauri by 2015, when the MVP is already facing financial constraints and little support from the Kenyan Government, because the Government is concentrating on larger countrywide macro

projects such as infrastructure development, services, industries, health and education. I argue therefore that the MVP paradigm has failed to strengthen village policies, programmes and practices for poverty reduction and has had a very limited impact at village level, due to the limitations and challenges of interventions discussed in Chapter 6 without long term consideration to post-implementation operation, maintenance and sustainability after 2015.

As frequently witnessed during fieldwork, programmes and projects are deployed in rural areas in isolated manner, without the benefit of a more holistic strategy. This result is the lack of sustainability of the individual investment, and a corresponding lack of effect in reducing the incidence of extreme poverty. There was a general sentiment among respondents that the MVP has not yet outlined the central part of its plan: the transition from aid dependence to self-sufficiency and sustainability. The MVP project was supposed to last five years, implying that the villages should have been largely self-supporting by the end of 2009. Over seven years have passed and it is clear from personal observations and respondents' statements that in Sauri independence and sustainability are a long way off. The MVP has made all the typical development mistakes. This may be the donors did not fully understood the needs, customs, structures and problems of the villagers in Sauri thus making Sauri dependent on the MVP.

For example, project dependency is especially so in areas of health, despite the large amount of money invested in that sector (see Chapter 6, Table 6.3). With the introduction and strengthening of the health system in Sauri through Community-Based Management for Health, health care has been transformed. The incidence of malaria has decreased, family planning has increased and soon anti-retroviral treatments will be available to people with HIV and AIDS. However, when the project ends, the funds for the clinic and the doctor, the mosquito nets, and the anti-retroviral will quickly be exhausted. The Kenyan government is facing the difficult choice of continuing to fund model clinics in Sauri or cutting the budget considerably. Complicating this decision is the fact that the government is responsible for health in the entire country and may not be able to defend supporting clinics in Sauri but not in other areas. The situation in agriculture and education faces similar challenges.

Another issue affecting sustainability was the inclusion of Luo women farmers in training programmes and the formation of agricultural policies that are important because women perform the bulk of the farming work in the Western Province. Currently, however, Luo women often have no voice in how agricultural policies are developed and implemented. To ensure successful development, local women farmers have to be included to shape how agricultural policies affect them, such as the distribution and timing of seed subsidies by

village elders (at present, arranged almost exclusively by and with men). One of the elderly Luo women respondents summarised her daily work: 'I struggle to balance the responsibilities of managing the household and taking care of daily household tasks, which could include weeding the fields, tending to sick family members or fetching water and firewood'.

Fieldwork found there is communal tension in Sauri. One of the main causes of tension within the local Luo community in the Sauri Millennium Village is the over-emphasis on finance, as discussed earlier. According to Professor Seshamard from the University of Lusaka, 'Simply allocating more resources, even to Agriculture, Education and Health will not reduce poverty; it is a matter of how that money is utilised'. Furthermore, although generally acknowledged essential to achieving the MDGs, additional finance in particular, increases dependence on foreign aid and can therefore negatively affect a community and the sustainability of interventions. This growing emphasis on the volume of finance in Sauri needs to be accompanied by an equally strong focus on quality issues, accountability and governance. Merely increasing finance is not the solution to achieving the MVP. The economic and political imbalances within the aid system mean that any additional funds need to be accompanied by reforms to the system to achieve the maximum benefit. According to Bulir, Hamann and Javier (2003), at present, donor flows are highly unpredictable. They are four times more volatile than income from domestic revenue. The current volatility and unpredictability of foreign aid flows is a serious impediment to planning to meet the MDGs. Only 70% of pledges are currently delivered for projects in sub-Saharan Africa. A more stable and predictable way to finance recurrent social spending and capital outlays is essential. This point is further emphasised by the UNDP (2005), the MDG's Focal Point in Kenya:

> The investment requirement is just beyond what this country can afford ... That's why we're saying: Let's know all what we require, what can be gotten domestically, let's know what the gap is. And this gap is so strong that it is for the development community to provide in the spirit of world aid and, of course, the Monterrey conferences.

This concern is widely shared (Escobar 1995; Estava 1987; Hancock 1989; Hobart 1993; Latouche 1993; Rahnema & Bawtree 1997; Rist 1997; Shiva 1998). In Sauri, the result is a burdensome dependence on aid, which is funding targeted packages of interventions in health, education and agriculture. From the above analysis, it is evident that Sauri is not yet a success, although Sachs feels confident that the programme can see villages progress from heavy reliance on aid to self-reliance and plans to expand the scheme to 100,000 villages in sub-Saharan Africa. However, even if Sauri does not meet its targets, it is not automatically a failure. According to Sachs (2008), Sauri 'will' become independent of foreign aid by around 2015. However, he says, this will be in the context of a wider transition to independence from foreign aid for the whole of Kenya, the result of several years of intense investment in

infrastructure, governance and personnel on a national scale. Yet fieldwork suggests that there is no clear sign of aid dependency decreasing in the near future.

Another serious challenge is that the project managers in Sauri are not open to and constructive criticism from villagers and dissenting voices were not welcome because 80% of the respondents complained that they have little say in what needs or should be done as has been the practice with most foreign aided projects in the past. One official put it plainly: 'Unfortunately I'm already in a lot of trouble for talking about what every good scientist is talking about. The current environment is one in which scientists can no longer speak openly and expect to keep their jobs'. Others 57% seriously questioned post-sustainability of the foreign aid supported interventions after 2015 while other complained about land issues that not addressed in MDGs to reduce poverty and achieve sustainability. This raises serious questions about maintenance and administration once the donors pull out. How transparent the MVP can be, when the institution facilitating that participation cannot positively manage internal criticisms, mismanagement and wastage of foreign aid discussed in the next section all affecting sustainability of the MVP big push project.

7.3 Foreign aid and the 'Big Push' approach to alleviate poverty in Sauri

Underpinning the theoretical and political backdrop of Kenya's development, Kenya Vision 2030 and the MDGs, are a number of influencing factors. These include the lingering problems of poverty in Kenyan and sustainable development. Consequently, the inception of the MDGs and the introduction of foreign aid supported SMVP the 'big push' theory to half poverty in Sauri by 2015, and designed as pilot action research programmes incorporating a bottom-up strategy. This section critically examine the findings of foreign aid supported the big push approach to alleviate poverty. These contributed to the lessons learned and the scaling-up process for other projects and the KV2030, and indeed the big push theory, which characterises development initiatives in Kenya.

As discussed in Chapter 2 foreign aid appeared as a political and economic force in the 1950s, calling for international solidarity with the aim of supporting, from a humanitarian perspective, the self-supporting efforts of 'the least fortunate' of the world against 'human oppressors, hunger, misery and despair' (Lumsdaine 1993, p. 221). Throughout the rest of the 1960s and until the late 1970s, organisational expansions took place while foreign aid funding through multilateral organisations and the proliferation of multilateral programmes increased significantly.

Sachs big push argument portrays aid as the necessary catalyst for investment that would, in turn, lead to growth and presumably initialise an upward path to economic development leading to poverty alleviation (Schabbel 2007). This emanated as a comprehensive package of massive aid transfers and widespread reforms that aimed to tackle multiple socio-economic pathologies, quickly and simultaneously. Shock therapy of this sort, Sachs argues, can end extreme poverty for the world's 'bottom billion' by 2025 (Sachs 2005). Less than a year into the project, Sachs called for a 15-fold increase in foreign aid to Kenya. This would be an increase from $100 million to $1.5 billion a year, to fund Millennium villages all across the country. At the time of completion of this thesis in 2015, no new Millennium village has been funded because of lack of foreign aid fatigue. More over his estimates proved to be unrealistic.

For example, according to MVP (2007), a core aspect of the Millennium Villages discussed in Chapter 5 is that the poverty-ending investments in agriculture, health and education can be financed by donors at an incremental cost of just US$60 per villager per year – US$250,000 per village per year. The overhead costs of managing the project in each village are US$200,000 per year. On closer analysis these figure do not seem to be realistic. For example, fieldwork findings found that the official reported figure of US$200,000 for managing the SMVP is very low compared to the figure calculated from fieldwork of US$1,130,000 (see Table 5.4) for staff and vehicle maintenance and running expenses (office rent and running expenses not available).

According to Sachs (2008), on a per-person basis, the total village cost of US$120 per person includes US$60 Donor funding; US$30 Local and national government contributions; US$20 Partner organisation contributions; and US$10 from Village members as presented in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Sauri Millennium Village project funding

Source	Per person per year US$	Total per year Sauri US$
Donor Funding	**60**	**3,614,040**
Local and National Government	**30**	**1,807,020**
Partner Organisations	**20**	**1,204,680**
Villagers (in-kind)	**10**	**602,340**
TOTAL	**120**	**7,228,080**

Source: MVP and Fieldwork (2010)
Sauri population 60,234 (2007)

According to the MVP and Sachs, on a per-person basis, the total village cost of US$120 per person times 60,234 Sauri villagers amounting to an annual investment of US$7,228,080, would halve extreme. Documents recently made public by the UK government reveal that the cost of poverty reduction in the MVP (US$120 per person), is a self-described 'solution to extreme poverty' in Kenya villages created by Sachs falls well short of actual costs revealed by the UK government. The actual project costs would be at least US$12,000 per household that it lifts from poverty – about 34 times the annual incomes of those households.

The UNDP Kenya estimated cost of meeting MDGs in Kenya in 2010–2015 is US$55,521.5 million with an estimated gap of US$45,165.9 million, Table 6.2 (UNDP 2010, p. 115). The total gap to achieve MDGs is US$45,165.9 million or approximately three years the annual national budget for Kenya, based on the financial year 2011/12. During fieldwork and interviews, observations and further desk research it became evident that five years is insufficient time to reach the MDGs targets and how Kenya plans to fix this massive financial gap is questionable. In calculating the cost for MDGs, the assumption is that with the current poverty level at 56%, the MDG requirement is to reduce this by half to 28%. This highlights once again the importance of independent and transparent evaluation of MVP (Clemens 2012).

Table 7.5: Cost of financing MDGs 2010–2015 in Kenya

MDG Goal Target	Current Status Prevalence Per cent	2015 Target Status Per cent	Estimated in Million US$	Current and Projected Financing from Kenya	Estimated Gap in Millions US$
Halving poverty and hunger	56	28	14,526.3	2,906.5	11,565.8
Halving population without access to safe drinking water	60	30	13,815.8	1,447.4	12,368.4
Achieving UPE	92.5	100	4,093.1	3,007.5	1,085.6
Achieving gender equality in primary schools	0.94	1	1,800.0	1.0	1,799.0
Health Goals (excluding HIV/AIDS)	*	*	4,478.0	2,599.0	1,879.0
Halting and reversing HIV/AIDS	6.75	3.50	1,313.7	234.0	1,079.7
Providing special assistance to orphans	0.005	75	3,789.5	2.2	3,787.3
Environment	1.7	10	10,602.1	65.0	10,537.1
Housing for slum dwellers			1,103.0	32.5	1070.5
TOTAL			**55,521.5**	**10,355.6**	**45,165.9**

*This includes Malaria, TB, MMR.

Source: UNDP 2010

Debate on foreign aid issues has been ongoing for many years, and persists today. Controversies about foreign aid effectiveness go back decades. There is general agreement on some broad issues that foreign aid has helped improve health by supplying essential medicines, and that foreign aid is an important vehicle in poverty alleviation (Radelet 2004; Sachs 2004; Stern 2002; Stiglitz 2002). On the other hand, some critics of foreign aid concede that much foreign aid has been wasted or pilfered (Bauer 1972; Easterly 2001; Hansen, Henrik & Tarp 2000). This is supported by fieldwork findings as Akyama continued: 'One of the main causes of tension within the community in Sauri Millennium Village is too much power of the MVP staff, overemphasis on finance and accountability'. Akyama continued 'Simply allocating more resources will not reduce poverty; it is a matter of how that money is utilised'. Further, although generally acknowledged essential to achieving the MVP, additional finance in particular, increases dependence on foreign aid and can therefore negatively affect a community and the sustainability of interventions. This growing emphasis on the volume of finance in Sauri needs to be accompanied by an equally strong focus on quality issues, accountability and governance. Merely increasing finance is not the solution to achieving the MVP. The economic and political imbalances within the aid system mean that any additional funds need to be accompanied by reforms to the system to achieve the maximum benefit. In addition, according to Bulir, Hamann and Javier (2003), at present, donor flows are highly unpredictable. They are four times more volatile than income from domestic revenue. The current volatility and unpredictability of foreign aid flows is a serious impediment to planning to meet the MDGs. Only 70% of pledges are currently delivered for projects in sub-Saharan Africa. How will Sachs' call for a fifteen-fold increase in foreign aid to Kenya, from $100 million to $1.5 billion a year, be realised to fund Millennium villages across the country?

A more stable and predictable way to finance recurrent social spending and capital outlays is essential. This point is further emphasised by the UNDP (2005), the MDGs Focal Point in Kenya:

> The investment requirement is just beyond what this country can afford ... That is why we are saying: Let us know all what we require, what can be gotten domestically, let us know what the gap is. Moreover, this gap is so strong that it is for the development community to provide in the spirit of world aid and, of course, the Monterrey conferences (UNDP 2005, p. 27).

Although many UN and government officials I spoke to during my field study, privately criticise the Sauri project and the MDGs in general, none spoke openly about them because the MDGs Declaration of 2000 binds them. It was clear that dissenting voices were not welcome, as has been the practice with most UN projects over the last 50 years. One official put it plainly: 'Unfortunately I'm already in a lot of trouble for talking about what every good scientist is talking about. The current environment is one in which scientists can no longer

speak openly and expect to keep their jobs'. This raises questions about how participatory the Sauri implementation of the MVP can be, when the institution facilitating that participation through foreign aid cannot positively manage internal criticisms, mismanagement, wastage of hard to get foreign aid.

Despite the strong rhetorical commitment that donors are offering, evidence from the SMVP suggests that the donors did not understand the social and economic implications. More over what it meant to work in a partnership by imposing MVP top-down structures, discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.1.1. Foreign aid donors typically continued to earmark finance for projects and programmes and impose detailed conditions and institutional controls. This undermined the accountability of recipients to their own public and civil society agents. An accountable and more progressive relationship between foreign aid MVP and Sauri villagers is required to halve extreme poverty and hunger, being the overall objective of this study. This should be based on giving a greater voice to recipients and disadvantaged communities in the key decisions that affect their lives and economies, ownership of completed projects and long-term sustainability. The Millennium Villages Project, [Ochola, 63] said:

has made all the typical development mistakes. If you give away tons of fertiliser, it is predictable that much of it will end up on the open market. If you put millions [of dollars] in a small place, you're going to have problems.

In the end, he wondered whether the foreign aid donors really understood the needs, customs and problems of the villagers in Sauri. When I asked him why he had not reported to the donors, he replied 'No, we don't want them to pull out of Sauri. We have become so dependent on the Millennium Project'.

Moyo (2009) argues that aid-based models, despite the injection of over one trillion-dollars, have achieved little in terms of delivering growth and alleviating poverty over the last 50 years. This concern is widely shared (Escobar 1995; Estava 1987; Hancock 1989; Hobart 1993; Latouche 1993; Rahnema & Bawtree 1997; Rist 1997; Shiva 1998). In Sauri, the result is a burdensome dependence on foreign aid, which is funding targeted packages of interventions in health, education and agriculture. From the above analysis of findings based on villagers' experiences, it is evident that Sauri is not yet a success, although Sachs feels confident that the programme can see villages progress from heavy reliance on foreign aid to self-reliance and plans to expand the scheme to 100,000 villages in sub-Saharan Africa (Sachs 2008). However, even if Sauri does not meet its targets, it is not automatically a failure. According to Sachs, Sauri 'will' become independent of aid by around 2015. However, he admits, this will be in the context of a wider transition to independence from foreign aid for

the whole of Kenya, the result of several years of intense investment in infrastructure, governance and personnel on a national scale. Yet fieldwork and the discussion in this section disclose that there is no clear sign of aid dependency decreasing in the near future. Easterly, a former Bank economist and author of 'The White Man's Burden', critiques foreign aid projects and especially Sachs, arguing that the Millennium approach would not work on a larger scale because if expanded, 'it immediately runs into the problems we have all been talking about: corruption, bad leadership, ethnic politics'. Fieldwork disclosed Sachs has essentially tried to create an island of success in a sea of failure, and maybe he has done that, but it does not address the sea of failure.

Table 7.6: Summary of additional concerns expressed by the villagers

	No. of respondents	Percent
All projects are controlled by MVP; we have little say in what should be done	109	80
We do not always have a say in what needs to done to reduce poverty	53	39
Land shortage, land issues need to be addressed in MDGs to reduce poverty	65	48
The interventions will be unsustainable once the MVP is terminated	78	57
The interventions are not practical because we are dependent on MVP money	42	31
Not all people have benefited equally from MVP interventions	17	12
Some of the projects are culturally unacceptable, example goat farming	24	18
Women do not have equal say in the interventions	48	35
Clinics in Sauri frequently run out of medicines – anti-retroviral drugs	32	24
There is not enough water for our farms	38	28

Sample size (136): Households 43; Non-random interviews 36; Questionnaires 57

Source: Author's own work based on data from fieldwork analysis.

Besides the fieldwork findings related to poverty, sustainability and foreign aid discussed in this chapter, the villagers raised some other concerns that are summarised in Table 7.6. For example one of the villagers [Akyama, 54] when asked about his impression about the MVP and how it has affected his life. Akyama asked me not to record his conversation and started 'there are so many stories about Sauri, but the problem is which one to tell'. With a short laugh, he continued: 'The girls have better haircuts now'. There are more hair salons, he said, warming to his subject, and the girls are all getting braids. For the first time, people are selling French fries on the side of the highway. There is more money around. People are more generous, too. 'A funeral is a big event in the village, with lots of food. In the old days we

would get rice and beans, but now we get meat and soup too'. There was so much excitement with the project some mothers named their babies 'Millennium'. He cautioned that the project was facing serious institutional and financial problem that the donors may not know about.

Akyama said:

> In Sauri, we have the Kalanya factor. The Kalanya are the dominant clan. Kalanya elders head all the committees, and yet many of them are uneducated and illiterate. The "clanism" was fostering nepotism and other forms of favouritism. One of the buildings at the new clinic was badly constructed; it has been condemned hinting involvement of politics and corruption. There were rumours that the clinic was charging patients from outside Sauri. Civil servants and police in neighbouring villages were allegedly using their influence to get their children into Sauri's school.

There were politics and disagreements both within and between MVP and local committees, which delayed development in the village. Akyama said:

> For example, in the early days of the project Sachs had ceremoniously handed over the keys to a Nissan truck that was to be used to take goods to market and as an ambulance. But because of power struggles over it, the truck had not been used or seen in the village since.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion of findings of the MVP implementation and outcomes discussed in Chapter 6 within the context of the literature reviewed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3. The findings were based on fieldwork and the lived experiences of villagers in Sauri and their relevance to the broad research questions, outlined in Chapter 1, and presented in sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3. This was important to understand implementation, outcomes and project sustainability of the SMVP, which was the focus of this Chapter. The objective of this chapter was to analyse SMVP implementations and outcome to find out: (i) to what extent did the application of the broad framework of the Millennium Development Goals suit the conditions of the Sauri Millennium Village and address the lingering structural issues that risked equity and sustainability in villages. (ii) to what extent are the lessons of SMVP relevant for strategising long-term sustainable solutions which are also the focus of the Kenya Vision 2030? (iii) to what extent is the 'big push' theory of development and foreign aid that underpins the basis of SMVP, relevant in tackling the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya? The findings based on fieldwork and lived experiences of villagers in contributed in answering the broad research questions, hence these meanings are subject to contestation, rejection or change, as there is no 'universal' understanding of poverty, sustainability and foreign aid concepts discussed in the literature in Chapter 2.

The supporters of foreign aid and the 'big push' methodology (Radelet 2004; Sachs 2004; Stern 2002; Stiglitz 2002) argue for more aid as the necessary catalyst for investment that

would, in turn, lead to growth and presumably initialise an upward path to economic development leading to poverty alleviation (Schabbel 2007). What is required is a comprehensive package of massive aid transfers and widespread reforms that aim to tackle multiple socio-economic pathologies quickly and simultaneously. Fieldwork analysis revealed that the MVP contention that investing US$120 per person per year would alleviate poverty, does not work for the following reasons: first it makes villagers dependent on hand-outs; and second, the figure of US$120 is extremely low compared to the UK government's more realistic figure of US$12,000 per household. Debate on foreign aid issues has been ongoing for many years, and persists today. Controversies about foreign aid effectiveness go back decades. There is general agreement on some broad issues that foreign aid has helped improve health by supplying essential medicines, and that foreign aid is an important vehicle in poverty alleviation (Radelet 2004; Sachs 2004; Stern 2002; Stiglitz 2002). One the other hand some critics of foreign aid concede that much foreign aid has been wasted or pilfered (Bauer 1972; Easterly 2001; Hansen, Henrik & Tarp 2000). My findings revealed that too much time, money and attention is focused on too few people. This raises the question of whether, even with an increase in aid from world bodies and governments, extreme poverty and hunger can be eliminated in Sauri, let alone in thousands of villages in Kenya. As the deadline of 2015 approaches, it seems likely that more villages will be placed in a longer-term narrative of ending poverty by 2025 or even later to secure extended funding. Further, the creators of the MVP will have to admit that their projection to 2025, and possibly their hopes for extending the MVP across Kenya [and sub-Saharan Africa] are overly optimistic. A re-thinking will be needed if, or before, the Project is expanded.

In exploring whether implementation of agriculture had reduced poverty and contributed to improving, other productive as well as social development goals related to education and health. My findings reveal that MVP, by spending $50,000 a year on artificial fertilisers (SMV 2007), had caused Maize production to more than double to five tons per hectare, making over 80% of households food secure. This increase in income was expected to arise from the interventions due to increased agricultural production (thus creating surplus for sale); increased employment generation (both farm and off-farm) and diversification into non-farm activities (small-scale business). Real income would also increase through a reduction in the prices of maize following increased production. The analysis of the impact on household income however reveals that there was no significant increase in total household income resulting from implementation of MVP. The overall income effect was insignificant, even though decomposing the income into various components yielded only a significant reduction in remittances. The findings disclosed that only 20.5% of those who were 'poor' before

escaping poverty, did so due mainly to the agriculture growth associated with improved seeds and chemical fertilisers provided at no cost to the farmers (see Table 6.3). However, farmers complained that a reliance on imported fertiliser creates dependence on those inputs and intensive agriculture has placed strains on the water supply and soil. Those farmers with bigger farms faced storage challenges for their surplus, because MVP had not created storage facilities for surplus crops at the planning stage of the interventions. In addition the implication of shifting from full subsidy to full loan financing was that the number of farmers participating in the programme significantly dropped to only about 10%, with those dropping out either accessing their own inputs or reverting to traditional farming practices. These issues not only influence the effectiveness of the programme, but also the sustainability of programme gains.

In exploring social development through education and health, SMV has made significant progress with substantial foreign aid in educational facilities, rehabilitation of infrastructure in schools, daily school meals, construction of gender sensitive pit latrines; rain water harvesting aimed to increase food security and increased enrolment in primary schools. However, fieldwork found some challenges compromising MVP's success in UPE including the building of teachers' capacity, regular payments of salaries for sustainability; political commitment critical for successful implementation and elimination of bureaucracy at the national level for effective disbursement of donor funds; and partnership at every level of implementation, which is imperative to the success of the programme.

The interventions in health have included the development and rehabilitation of health centres, hiring and training of health personnel, community health workers, distribution of mosquito nets and installation of ventilated improved pit toilets. Fieldwork findings found these quick-fix interventions seem credulous in the face of the extent of the greatest plague malaria in SMV and in the Western province where Sauri is located. Findings established there are large logistical problems, including distribution, looting, and costs. Even if the MVP solves distribution, looting and costs challenges, there is no guarantee that people will use for example mosquito nets for the purposes intended. The trouble is that malaria is so prevalent that many people treat it as an inevitable unpleasant fact. Years of social marketing campaigns to promote the use of bed nets have scarcely made a difference (Wanjala 2000). Therefore, Sachs' micro approach is largely inadequate and limits itself to the productive as well as social development goals. The approach is based on solving immediate problems but fails to create sustainable solutions, as is the focus KV2030 blueprint for sustainability.

In conclusion as discussed and revealed in Chapter 5 SMVP implementation and outcomes, Sachs' 'Big Push' top down approach largely restricts itself to a limited alleviation of poverty with massive foreign aid supported interventions in agriculture, education and health in Sauri without a strategy for post implementation sustainability. Under the perspective of Europe and North America, foreign aid programmes are designed and implemented which without further consideration presuppose that Western political, economic, and cultural conditions will be created or can be created all over the whole world. There hardly exists a profound knowledge on the specific conditions of other cultures; it seems this does not play any important role for those designs (Kimmerle 2002, p. 57). This leaves some unanswered questions: 'How do we know what would have happened without the foreign aid? Maybe it would have been much worse. On the other hand, maybe it would have been better. We have no idea.

In the final concluding chapter that follows, based on the findings in Chapters 6 and 7, I conclude the suitability of the MDGs to conditions in Sauri, the significance of SMVP for strategizing KV2030, and the relevance of the 'big push' theory of development and foreign aid to tackling the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya

Chapter 8: CONCLUSION

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) represent a powerful roadmap to reduce poverty and hunger and improve the lives of the poor people, and achieve sustainable development. The assumptions underlying the MDGs' concept of a Millennium Village Project (MVP) (Millennium Promise 2006) is that impoverished villages can transform themselves and meet the MDGs if they are empowered with foreign aid supported proven, powerful, practical technologies. By investing in agriculture, education and health, and essential infrastructure, these community-led interventions will enable impoverished villages to escape extreme poverty and achieve sustainability by 2015.

This study set out to explore the MVP model applied in the Kenya-based Sauri Millennium Village, to identify and analyse MVP interventions at theoretical and practical levels, with particular focus on the processes involved in implementing this approach, its effects and outcomes, the voices of the villagers, understanding the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by the MVP. The study also sought to know whether MDGs' effectiveness, especially in the manner these have been formulated within the Sauri Millennium Village Project (SMVP), is practical tools in solving the problems of alleviation of poverty in Kenya. More widely based on the lessons learnt in SMVP, to highlight issues that are relevant to formulation of an effective poverty reduction strategy that is more conducive to local cultural, political, economic, institutional and resource capacities of the village and also the local community. As discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 3 the literature reviews on this subject, and especially in the context of Kenya, are inclusive on several vital questions within the development discourse. For example, development has dependent unquestionably on one knowledge practice, namely, the contemporary Western one. The dominance of this knowledge practice has dictated the marginalisation and disqualification of non-Western knowledge practices.

The study of the MVP model framework applied in the experimental MVP in Sauri can be a learning lesson for the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development (MPND) and Kenya Vision 2030 (KV2030). This is an important step, as before the Ministry starts spending millions of dollars in the other villages, it is vital to know whether MVP model has worked in Sauri. More specifically, it is necessary to understand whether all the successes claimed by MVP have actually occurred in Sauri. This is the best way to know if Sachs' micro- 'quick win' short-term interventions foreign aid grounded approach is appropriate to tackling the problem of poverty and relevant for strategizing long-term sustainable solutions

that are also the focus of KV2030. As Stiglitz (1998) argued, this information is important in understanding the best way to utilise foreign aid for poverty reduction and development.

This research employed a mixed methodology, involving qualitative semi-structured interviews with residents and key informants, to explore the impact of the MVP in Sauri. Specifically the study focused on MVP processes of implementation, its effects and outcomes; MDGs paradigms and truth claims about poverty and poverty reduction in Sauri; villagers' voices; and an understanding of the experiences of those engaged in, or affected by, the MVP. Participants in the Sauri project came from individual households and work places, markets, public areas, the local primary and secondary schools, and recruited through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. The interview questions covered interventions, activities, achievements and implementation challenges. The study team further collected project documentation from the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and Vision 2030 in Nairobi, the MDGs Centre and MVP in Kisumu, to gather detailed information about programme context and content, policies and implementation and to track the actual course of events to develop an understanding of the process of programme planning and implementation. The specific programme outcomes substantiated by both semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence. The main empirical findings are chapter specific and were summarised with the respective empirical chapters:

Chapter 6: Sauri Millennium Village Project Implementation and Outcomes

Chapter 7: Findings and Discussions

This section will synthesise the empirical findings to answer the study's three broad research questions.

(i) To what extent did the application of the broad framework of the Millennium Development Goals suit the conditions of the Sauri Millennium Village and address the lingering issues of poverty that risked equity and sustainability in villages?

(ii) To what extent are the lessons of SMVP relevant for strategizing long-term sustainable solutions, which are also the focus of the Kenya Vision 2030?

(iii) To what extent is, foreign aid supported 'big push' theory of development that underpins the basis of SMVP, is relevant in tackling the problem of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya.

Based on the study findings, it was revealed that the MVP followed a universally prescribed framework for community development, but had some shortcomings in its implementation and outcomes. The thesis provides three arguments to the current MDGs debate on poverty reduction: fitting global conceptions into local circumstances, the relevance of lessons learnt, and the relevance of the 'Big Push' theory of development, to tackling poverty in Kenya.

8.1 Fitting global (MDGs) into local (MVP) to alleviate poverty and achieve sustainability

Empowerment has been one of the central objectives of the MVP, which sought to empower the local communities to achieve the MDGs and ultimately their own development needs to alleviate poverty and achieve sustainability. As discussed in Chapter 7, the agriculture, education and health sectors have revealed interesting characteristics relevant to empowering a rural community in agricultural production and to access education and basic health care services. The approach to empowerment with massive foreign aid used in a multiple sector context highlighted the challenges with which MVP have to contend as a framework for development. The challenge lies in localising MVP policies that are universal and global in their design, the problem of reconciling the global design with the local needs, and causing villagers to be ultimately autonomous and self-reliant, free from poverty.

The proponents of MVP promote the approach as a 'bottom up approach to lifting developing country villages out of the poverty trap by empowering the local communities to take control of development needs' (Earth Institute 2007). This study has found with the introduction of MVP administrations structures and staffs discussed in Chapter 6 (see 6.1.1 and 6.12) changes in the locus of control have occurred among the personal and village structures and networks in the communities where the interventions were implemented. Consistent with the framework of the actor-oriented approach, most of the changes exhibited aspects of power, knowledge, and perceived empowerment (Long 2001). All the changes in community administration, meeting structure, sources of information, and leadership issues that were identified by the research participants, pointed to a shift in the external locus of control within personal and community networks. The most notable is the introduction of SMV administration and management structures and development committees (see Figure 6.1) to control the implementation of the MDGs design, thus circumventing traditional structures that affected organisational and post-implementation sustainability of concluded project (SMVP).

As discussed in Chapter 5, prior to the arrival of the MVP in 2002, national policies and projects for community development were communicated and implemented using traditional

and local power hierarchical structures (see Figure 5.1) that were primarily centred on the institution of the PC, DC, DO, local chiefs, assistant chiefs, and village elders (see Figure 5.3). Barazas were the common mode of personal, community networking and development in the village. According to Eversole (2010), in community development local knowledge is still an important supplement to expert knowledge that characterises most donor development initiatives. Communities use their local knowledge to respect locally accepted structures and tried ways of doing things, while local community leaders use local knowledge to bring about change without causing offence because some of their solutions tend to be embedded in the community. This type of knowledge is accrued via lived experiences, which help to understand the connections and interrelationships more clearly than experts [MVP] who tend to be guided by conceptual programmes of a particular programme as in the case of the MDGs. The project's committees have introduced a new layer of bureaucracy, and their vast foreign aid resources have weakened the local government's power: 'Committees are accused of working against each other and of being corrupt, slow, and unwieldy' (Rich 2010, p. 8). A community leader [Ogola, 68] said 'since the introduction of MVP the power hierarchies in Sauri have changed'. Their spokespersons are said to have been chosen for their ethnic ties and standing in society, rather than their political acumen. One villager said: 'it's unclear which decisions are made by government and which by MVP'

Similarly, Craig and Porter (1997) have argued that in development, most projects, professionals, and organisations are enmeshed in processes and practices of control rather than of participation. A shift in control occurs when development programmes that are intended to promote community participation or bottom-up approaches, end up becoming top-down because of the tendency to make the communities forego their local knowledge and institutions. Ultimately, programmes that are intended to promote empowerment force communities to enter into new forms of dependency with external agencies for resources, especially financial, needed for post implementation maintenance of the programmes, because participation in the programmes is often guided by the objectives of the programmes (Botchway 2001). Training for participation in anti-poverty programs elicits new knowledge, values, skills, as well as the capacity needed to become agents of change. Participation rates in anti-poverty programs often centre on power, privilege, and resource access (Bowen 2007).

In this study, changes in the locus of control are explained by changes that were found to have occurred among the community administration structures in Sauri where the interventions were implemented. All the changes in community meeting structures and sources of information, that were identified by the research participants, pointed to a shift in the locus of control within personal and community structures. The most notable shift is the introduction

of SMV administration structures and its development committees used to implement SMVP. The majority of the participants agreed SMVP was controlled by MVP and the villagers have little say in what should be done'. In addition, many respondents (40%) said 'We do not always have a say in what needs to done to reduce poverty'. One of the most pressing challenges facing the Millennium Development Goals as a development framework is being able to translate the global goals (MDGs) to specific targets and objects that can be adapted with ease locally. This study-identified similarity between the MVP approaches with past development initiatives discussed in Chapter 2 that failed to sustain rural development. These models of development are guided by the global notion that participation and empowerment result in sustainability although community involvement as a required component of sustaining projects and such is not necessarily the case (Botchway 2001).

There will likely be further changes in structure after the expiry of the SMVP in 2015. These contradictions and inconsistencies manifest in the MVP efforts to establish a bottom-up approach to achieving the MDGs while conferring local ownership on the development process. Currently, what constitutes a true bottom-up approach is still a matter of contention because the MVP relies on pre-conceived definitions of solutions, and solutions for the communities in Sauri. As discussed in literature in Chapter 5 poverty is diverse and complex. Unfortunately, the livelihood strategies that provide villagers with most meaningful opportunities for participation, negotiation and empowerment within their environment are excluded from structures and processes of foreign aid dependent development discourse discussed in the next sub-sub-section.

8.1.1 Foreign aid and dependency

The MVP interventions with substantial foreign aid and shifting locus of control in Sauri resulted in certain positive outcomes to the community in agricultural production, improved enrolment in primary schools and access to basic health care. MVP has demonstrated that by introducing its own control and with massive funding, marginal returns to aid may be high at low levels. Further interventionists in general can also have a big impact with smaller sector-specific interventions as is the case in Sauri. There has been plenty of development along the latter lines in recent years, such as mass distribution of malaria bed nets for example, as discussed in Chapter 5. Which is the most effective, sustainable form of foreign aid? It is a very good question. Blattman (2012) says 'a gazillion dollar in foreign aid and lots of international attention produces good outcomes'. This is hardly surprising. The point, he adds, is how we test:

> The theory of the big push: That high level of aid simultaneously attacking many sectors and bottlenecks are needed to spur development without aid making communities aid dependent; that there are positive interactions and externalities from multiple interventions (Blattman 2012, p. 24).

The implication is almost invariably that aid dependence is a problematic condition caused by, but not synonymous with, large transfers of aid. Collier (2005), for example, has called aid dependence 'that process by which the continued provision of aid appears to be making no significant contribution to the achievement of self-sustaining development'. Sobhan (2001, p. 119), writing in Bangladesh, calls aid dependence 'a state of mind, where aid recipients lose their capacity to think for themselves and thereby relinquish control'. Rehman (2001, p. 122) argued that aid dependence is a situation in which a community is unable to perform many of the core functions of the community, such as building and the maintenance of infrastructure or the delivery of basic services, without foreign aid funding and expertise (provided in the form of technical assistance or projects). This characterises many local communities, today, where, as a team of local researchers charged not long ago, many governments have developed a 'cosy accommodation with dependency' (World Bank 1996). In spite of all the evidence as revealed in this study, the MVP application of SMVP is foreign aid-dependent. However, according to Sachs's Team Leader (2010) said 'When the five-year MVP funding stops in 2015, SMV should be able to continue economic progress without a loss of momentum, a drop in living standards, or a decline in social services'. However, at the time of the fieldwork, the agriculture and health programmes provided an impression of how the programmes could be overwhelming to implement and continued against the MVP's timeline. Many of the respondents (31%) said, 'The interventions are not practical because we are dependent on MVP money; too little attention is being paid by the Millennium project to the elements of self-help'.

Botchway (2001) observes that whereas most of the development programs in Africa are intended to promote autonomy and self-reliance, the local resources are not sufficient to meet the local needs required to sustain such programmes. For instance, Sauri communities have had an involvement with international aid groups that spans over 15 years prior to the MVP interventions being introduced, yet the development needs in these communities still persist (Clemens & Demombynes 2010). According to Clemens and Kenny (2003), and Moss (2004), donor assistance can contribute to development especially when the cost of implementing the MDGs is considered to a limit. The year 2015 is when funding ends and the communities are expected to be fully empowered to sustain the programmes initiated by the MVP. The lack of a clear exit strategy as the deadline approaches further served to decrease trust in the outcomes of the MVP and ultimately had a bearing on poverty reduction. More

than half of the respondents (57%) in the study said, the interventions would be not be sustainable once the MVP is terminated once the funding for the MVP ends in 2015 because MVP are foreign aid dependent.

Foreign aid and the processes surrounding its delivery create incentives and informal institutions – patterns of behaviour, norms, and codes of conduct – both in the MVP and in villagers receiving high levels of foreign aid. Once in place, these incentives and institutions have proven quite resistant to change as found during fieldwork that directly affects the organisational, continuity of the implemented projects and sustainability, as is the case with SMVP.

Given the limited technical and financial resources of Sauri communities, even with the availability of funding to build centralised systems, often the technologies prove to be difficult and costly to maintain. It is essential to take into account the economic status of the community and existing institutions, when assessing effective post-operations and the sustainability of the projects in order to avoid making communities foreign aid dependent.

8.2 SMVP relevance for strategizing KV2030

The MVP envisaged scaling up interventions to national levels, starting with a pilot SMVP and progressing to eight villages in Kenya (see Chapter 1, Figure 1.2) without necessarily having a comprehensive understanding of factors constraining or complementing previous poverty reductions programmes. The unsubstantiated 'success' would demonstrate the potential for scaling up to national interventions [such as agriculture, education and health discussed in Chapter 6] (MVP 2002) as is the case with KV2030. The experience of SMVP showed a disconnection of the SMVP approach from the KV2030 approach for sustained development because SMVP was implemented without any due consideration to KV2030 macro-economic development framework.

There is still little information about the magnitude and the format of a fully-fledged MVP of relevance for strategizing long-term sustainable solutions, which is the focus of the KV2030 macro-economic blueprint. As discussed in the findings, some of the challenges that are likely to emerge with the scaling up of the SMVP can be noted. Recent research (de Renzio 2005) points to the potential importance of absorptive capacity as a constraint to the scaling-up of foreign aid macro-projects. Large increases in foreign aid inflows, if available, can provoke significant macro-economic imbalances and undermine the government's incentives to build a strong and sustainable base, and hence the sustainability of aid funded investments (Clemens & Radelet 2003). According to MDGs national coordinator the macro-economic implications

of scaling up the MVP will depend on a series of factors, including: the relative contributions of each funding source (external donors, government, and communities), the nature of additional resources (financial or in-kind), the degree of absorption of foreign exchange by the economy, and the extent to which there is actually an expansion of public expenditure (rather than a reallocation of public resources).

Further, institutional, financial and policy structures may not be strong enough to absorb additional resources without wastage, leakage and corruption – due to, for example, poor planning and resource management systems, and weak transparency and accountability. Thus I argue Sachs' big push approach would not work on a bigger scale because if expanded, it immediately runs into the problems of organisational, financial and sustainability this thesis has found not to mention ethnic politics.

Local and national government are rightly expected to play central roles in project management and scaling up. Yet, given the urgency to produce quick wins, this is likely to put substantial pressure on government planning, procurement, financial management and accountability systems. To provide inputs in-kind instead, via the public administration, is at best a short-term palliative. Further, there may be operational limitations on what can be done with additional resources because of the scarcity of human and physical capital to support the development, management and delivery of services, and the inevitable time lags in expanding these. There is little doubt that as long as the project is at the pilot stage, high quality extension agents, doctors and teachers can be deployed to the selected villages. However, as the project is scaled up, success will heavily depend on whether governments can supply the necessary skilled workers. For example, about 8,000 doctors serve approximately 40 million Kenyans (Kenya Census 2012). This leaves Kenya in a desperate situation as far as meeting the WHO recommendation of a doctor to patient ratio of 1:500 (WHO 2009) is concerned. Kenya requires 40,000 doctors to meet that ratio. The medical schools may be able to supply 60 to 80 doctors a year, but it will take many years for the recommended level of one doctor per 500 people to be reached (Tomlin 2006). Besides qualified work force, the cost of meeting MDGs is approximately three times the annual budget of Kenya, based on the financial year 2011–12. How Kenya plans to fix this massive financial gap is questionable. Further, the findings raise further questions:

1. Can Kenya afford to replicate MVP in the other eight villages and sustain them when it is not even in a position to take over the MVP in Sauri after 2015 when the donors withdraw?

2. Who will finance the MVP in the new eight villages, and more generally in Kenya?

3. Should the Kenyan government concentrate on solving the underlying historical and contemporary issues like governance, corruption and land issues ignored in the MDGs' planning policies compromising poverty reduction programmes?

4. Is Kenya better off implementing Kenya Vision 2030 at its own pace with its own institutions throughout the country rather than concentrating on funding SMVP beyond 2015 in the other eight villages?

In summary, this thesis has shown that the current institutional and financial structures of Kenya may not be strong enough due to lack of financial and trained work especially at implementation stages and the organisational and post-implemented concluded projects, which is the focus of KV2030 for equity and sustainability of Kenya's development. Accordingly, this thesis argues SMVP approach to alleviate poverty and sustainability would not firstly be relevant for strategizing KV2030 and secondly it would not work on a bigger scale because if expanded, it immediately runs into the problems of organisational, financial and sustainability of post-implemented projects.

8.3 'Big Push' theory of development – relevance to tackling poverty in Kenya

The MVP's concern with development and poverty reduction in Sauri was to be welcomed in Kenya where about 70% of the poor live and work in villages. The motivation is sound, but is the approach right? How different is the SMVP from past rural development narratives and experiences? Sanchez, the Director of the MVP and Swaminathan, recognises it as a 'new approach based on an old paradigm' (Sanchez and Swaminathan 2005), with the main difference being the level of the intervention – the community. Based on the fieldwork findings this thesis sets out the challenges and questions the MVP likely to face as it expands to the national level. It examined: the MVP model; its heavy reliance on foreign aid and shifting locus of control, and on MDGs blueprint of interventions; and wider questions of scaling up to national level, particularly to do with availability and capabilities of national resources and availability of foreign aid.

As discussed in the findings in Chapter 6, 'Big Push' foreign aid supported development lost ground during the 1980s and '90s, a period when large-scale aid-based investments were moderated by concerns over macro-economic stability and aid dependency. Easterly (2006) writes:

> The idea of investing vast sums of money to close the poverty gap in Africa was tried in the 1950s and '60s, and failed. He says that Sachs's book peddles an "administrative central plan" in which the UN

> secretary-general "would supervise and coordinate thousands of international civil servants and technocratic experts to solve the problems of every poor village and city slum everywhere".

More recently, the MVP paradigm has been criticised for its technocratic and prescriptive character that neglects the role-played by the institutional environment and governance in sustaining economic development (Cabral, Farrington & Ludi 2006). Moreover, there are some striking similarities between the MVP and past rural development initiatives, which, for various reasons, proved to be ineffective in sustaining rural development. How the SMVP approach to strategizing long-term sustainable solutions being the focus of KV2030 is questionable. Farrington et al. (2002) argue that lessons from the past need to be considered for any rural development:

> Integrated rural development in the 1970s and 80s had strong donor support and focused on several spheres, including infrastructure and service delivery in the social sectors. Experiences were mixed but common criticisms focused on their top-down nature, supply-driven approach, and excessive reliance on technical assistance and on heavy, non-sustainable, project-specific management structures. A number of weaknesses have been identified in relation to these more recent approaches including inadequate ownership by government; the weak links with the macro policy environment and the wider processes of governance; and the difficulty of translating the rhetoric of participation into practice, and of sustaining the interventions once external funding ends.

The classic narrative – poor countries caught in poverty traps (Sachs 2005), out of which they need a 'Big Push' involving increased aid and investment, leading to a take-off in per capita income – has been very influential in development economics since the 1950s. This was the original justification for foreign aid. As discussed the narrative lost credibility for a while but has made a big comeback as the MDGs are invoked as a rationale for large foreign aid programmes to tackle poverty. Take-offs is rare in Africa but most plausibly limited to the Asian success stories. Even then, the take-offs are not associated with foreign aid and investment as the standard narrative would imply (Easterly 2009).

Therefore, the description of poverty traps, 'Big Push' narratives and take-offs as a justification for more foreign aid is declining due to the mixed and sometimes controversial results of MVP and scaling up of the SMVP model not relevant to tackling problems of poverty at the national level. The institutional findings are not explored exhaustively in this research (since the area has been so well covered in the literature already). However, the facts presented in this research are more consistent with an account of development in which development occurs when many actors have the institutional structures that allows and motivates them to take small steps from the bottom, as opposed to development happening from a 'Big Push' planner at the top – the MDGs.

8.4 Limitations to the thesis

Several limitations that emerged in the course of this research, owing to its scope, focus and complexity, are as follows. First, the distances were long and the terrain quite challenging, which involved considerable expenses and, especially in the rainy season, made some of the research area difficult to access. Second, at the initial stages (first two visits) of the research I found it problematic to travel freely in Sauri; access to the desired participants as well as my research visits were carefully mapped by the MVP authorities. Third, at times, comprehensive assessment and authentication of all the reported projects by MVP, the financial aspects for staffing and project implementation, any mismanagement and local politics was curtailed by the sensitive nature and control of the MVP project to the community, and all those involved with the MVP local leadership team were apprehensive about volunteering sensitive information about SMVP that had already been a subject of intense scrutiny. Fourth, the questionnaires at times proved to be a lengthy process for some of the households and the section on economic capability of households was difficult to complete, as most households did not keep records of their monthly expenses. However, this was eventually modified to reflect field conditions. Further, the thesis focused on three sectors, namely agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health. The results could have been different if all the eight goals that have been part of the MVP could have been included in the study. Finally, because of the magnitude of the MDGs and limited sample size, the findings may not be generalisable as fully representative of the views of the community, or indeed transferred to other villages in Kenya, due to economic, social, and environmental differences in the country.

8.5 Implications for development practice

Overall, while the findings of this thesis extend knowledge on the implementation and outcomes of the first experimental MVP introduced to reduce poverty in Sauri, and its relevance to tackling problems of poverty and associated social deprivations in Kenya, it is clear from the findings that more studies are needed in tackling complex concepts of poverty sustainability and foreign aid. Despite the strong rhetorical commitment offered by MDGs and the MVP, evidence from the SMVP findings, suggest that the MVP firstly did not understand the administration and power structures and the organisational and post-implementation sustainability of concluded projects in Sauri. Secondly, and what it meant to adopt MVP model to suit local conditions and its implications for poverty and the sustainability of interventions. MVP foreign aid methodology typically continues to earmark finance for projects and programmes and impose detailed conditions and institutional controls

by sidelining existing traditional structures used for communication and implementation of national projects.

A transparent and more progressive relationship between foreign aid and villagers is recommended to achieve MVP objectives. This should be based on giving a greater voice to villagers in the key decisions that affect their lives and economies. This would help address Luo villagers' concerns regarding the implementation of effective interventions and potential sustainability of the interventions when direct foreign funding is eventually withdrawn.

Once the MVP addresses these prerequisites, which it must if it is not to repeat the mistakes of earlier development models, it has the potential to support the underlying processes of poverty reduction and scaling-up nationally. Thus, from a policy perspective, the MVP will need to carefully sequence interventions within the context of changing government capacity (institutional and operational), national policy priorities as set by KV2030 and economic opportunities beyond agriculture. From a political perspective, strong ownership of development interventions is required, whether at village, regional or national levels – building on existing governance systems and institutions, but in ways that address threats such as elite capture and social and economic exclusion.

This is an indication of the need for additional independent studies of lessons that have resulted from the project. Most of the available studies exist in the form of baseline and annual reports prepared by the MVP staff. There was no prior research on personal and community networks and these calls for such specialised studies in the future. Perhaps an expansion of the AOA to include all the life worlds would help elicit more information about the relationships between the MVP and the communities in future. Most studies and reports tend to focus on the positive impacts of such a project but few on the mistakes that MVP portends in Sauri. Future studies on some of the errors in the MVP approach could provide valuable lessons for all those involved in development theory, policy and practice. Similarly, as found in this study there is no clear exit strategy by the MVP against a backdrop of numerous interventions, which begs the question of sustainability beyond the funding frame of 2015. This presents the policy makers with valuable lessons about the ramifications foreign aid supported short-term time-bound development approaches on local communities.

Another concern besides sustaining the interventions beyond 2015 is the relationship between the MVP and the local communities after the 2015 deadline. SMVP is a development project with multiple stakeholders and interests at stake, without a clear exit strategy instituted by the MVP. The 'big picture' here includes the potential for conflicts that could arise if the community is unable to maintain and sustain the interventions into the future despite having

invested heavily in the programmes during the time the MVP has been intervening in their community. As revealed in the literature, sustaining numerous global models has been a challenge in the past. Munk (2013) argues that recent history is littered with the wreckage of grand plans to save Africa. So why should we care about another [MDGs] and future ones – Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

8.6 Conclusion

The major findings of this thesis has exposed that the MVP had to some extent empowered Sauri villagers in agricultural and non-agriculture, education and health programmes with significant foreign aid funding and staffing. At the same time, some challenges surfaced, due to essentially a lack of understanding of the complexity of poverty, post implementation stability of completed projects and new MVP power structures thus circumventing the traditional structures at village levels. Further, the absence of a clear exit strategy in Sauri put the sustainability of the MVP in question, as well as the veracity of implementation of MDGs in other villages in Kenya, as stipulated in the Kenya Vision 2030. Such reservations made other future development programmes, potentially problematic.

As such these findings contribute to the broader scholarly interest in theorising a connection between the international MDGs poverty reduction discourse, that lessons learnt from the SMVP project would assist in developing a more comprehensive and practical strategy for poverty alleviation in Kenya. MDGs assumptions underlying the concept of MVP (Millennium Promise 2006) a grass-roots experiment in development that envisaged a bottom-up approach in poverty alleviation enabling villagers to decide their own priorities and control their own development was undertaken. With proven, powerful, practical technologies and investing in pro-poor inter-related interventions in agriculture, education and health, and essential infrastructure, these community-led interventions were expected to enable impoverished villages to escape extreme poverty by 2015.

In spite of what is often reported in theoretical and policy debates by MVP on the tremendous success of SMVP for poverty reduction and sustainable development, a foremost contribution of the findings of this study indicated that the MVP, with significant foreign aid, has only offered some short-term solutions and empowered villagers to some extent in agriculture and non-agriculture, education and health programmes without significant impact on poverty reduction in the village. This is because the nature of the MVP approach, being short-term based, and focused on a top-down methodology, is dependent on foreign aid, thus making it unsustainable in terms of budgets, manpower and local capacity to operate and maintain a successfully implemented project when foreign aid ends in 2015.

Other contributions from the findings have revealed that the approach is based on the improper design of interventions, overstaffing, and lack of understanding of the complex dimensions of poverty, knowledge and traditional structures at the village level. The results in SMV have been disjointed and in some ways contradictory. The research findings expand knowledge for other MVP programmes designed for rural communities in other MDGs villages about the impact of foreign aid programmes on community relations, opportunities and challenges of implementing MVP. In addition, this research has extended knowledge of the impact of the MVP on villagers' from the villagers' perspectives and understanding of the MDGs.

The findings of this thesis have discovered because of the top-down approach of the SMVP development paradigm is by nature political as it seeks to optimise the application and impact of political power of the MDGs, and the extension of this power is political, as revealed in the case in Sauri. These control apparatuses asserted through the actions of the UN in which the Kenya Government joins international and local entities in promoting poverty reduction activities. The actors involved in global poverty reduction, therefore, dictate not only which issues will be the objective of interventions, but the way in which interventions are to be managed and implemented as illustrated in the SMVP. The result of this in the SMVP has been incoherent and in some ways conflicting with KV2030 holistic approach. This is because KV2030 advocates macro-economic long-term country wide development based on the available financial and man power resources while MVP promotes micro quick win short-term foreign aid dependent interventions with little consideration for long term effects and sustainability thus doubting the MVP relevance and suitability for strategizing long-term sustainable solutions which is the focus of the Kenya vision 2030. The shortcomings are attributable to the theoretical and methodological disconnection between the MDGs/MVP approaches to understanding the complexity of foreign aid, poverty, sustainability; and villagers' knowledge, needs, priorities and values for the sustainability of poverty reduction programmes.

This study contributes towards a richer understanding of the dimensions of poverty, sustainability and foreign aid from the villagers' perspectives, valuing their knowledge, priorities, and the outcomes of implementation of the SMV project. The thesis main contribution stems from presenting an account of how the villagers themselves assess and experience the interventions, and this constitutes a valuable addition to development debates. Similarly, the study adds valuable insight that the SMVP has replaced existing power structures and that it is thus - despite all its self-proclaimed descriptions as grassroots and bottom-up - another top-down development intervention. In addition, the study provides

valuable lessons about the implications of time-bound short-term MVP development approaches with a strong focus on the end goal, recognising that insufficient attention has been paid to two main aspects of sustainability – namely, post-implementation operational sustainability. The study adds value by including the voices of the villagers in the MVP agenda for poverty reduction, and in the end contributing to the MVP's re-evaluation and improvement, suitability and sustainability, at national levels and in the global debate regarding the shaping of the Sustainable Development Goals.

As the current MDGs expire in 2015, MVP promoters may not be aware of the interventions which will complicate any attempts to scale the programs to other areas and nationally. The findings of this thesis are important for the design of the recently initiated global SDGs debate expected to shape the post-2015 MDGs agenda. This thesis contributes significantly by arguing the opposite: first, the need to make a distinction between the host country Kenya's priorities set out in KV2030 blueprint poverty reduction document, and the international (MDGs) regarding viable priorities, strategies, and potential conflicts between global top-down and local efforts. Second, is the incremental positive support of the KV2030 long-term macro-interventions at national level on all development priorities, at Kenya's own pace and with its available capacities and resources.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Consent form from Gideon Mailu, National Project Coordinator MDGs, and Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and Kenya Vision 2030.

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

Permission from Local Representative/ Participant

Project title: **Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development to Eradicate Extreme Poverty in Three Villages around Lake Victoria**

Researcher: Amrik Kalsi
The School of Social Science at the University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, 4072.

Participant's Name: G. M. MAILU HEAD MDGs P.I.U

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I fully understand the project. I give my permission for the participant named above to participate in the project as a representative of the organisation. I accept that they have freedom to withdraw without penalty from the interview/focus group at any time. I have been assured that the researcher, Mr Amrik Kalsi, will take steps to ensure their anonymity. I am aware that there is no fiscal benefit for participation.

For: PERMANENT SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF STATE FOR PLANNING
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND
VISION 2030
P.O. BOX 30007 - 00100
NAIROBI

Signature: .....

Local Representative/ Participant: MSPND & VISION 2030.

Date: 24.8.2010

APPENDIX B: Sharon Gordon MDG Centre, Kenya

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

Permission from Organisation and Governmental Official

Project title: **Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development to Eradicate Extreme Poverty in Three Villages around Lake Victoria**

Researcher: Amrik Kalsi
The School of Social Science at the University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, 4072.

Participant's Name: SHARON GORDON.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I fully understand the project. I give my permission for the participant named above to participate in the project as a representative of the organisation. I accept that they have freedom to withdraw without penalty from the interview/focus group at any time. I have been assured that the researcher, Mr Amrik Kalsi, will take steps to ensure their anonymity. I am aware that there is no fiscal benefit for participation.

Signature: SharonGord

Organisation/ Governmental Official: MDG CENTRE

Date: 25th February 2010.

APPENDIX C: District Commissioner Consent Form

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA

Permission from Organisation and Governmental Official

Project title: **Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development to Eradicate Extreme Poverty in Three Villages around Lake Victoria**

Researcher: Amrik Kalsi
The School of Social Science at the University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, 4072.

Participant's Name: Salim Bagang

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I fully understand the project. I give my permission for the participant named above to participate in the project as a representative of the organisation. I accept that they have freedom to withdraw without penalty from the interview/focus group at any time. I have been assured that the researcher, Mr Amrik Kalsi, will take steps to ensure their anonymity. I am aware that there is no fiscal benefit for participation.

Signature: .....

Organisation/ Governmental Official: DC Homa bay

Date: 10/6/2010

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
P. O. Box 1,
HOMABAY

0722869158

Appendix D: Questionnaires

Questionnaire A: Socio-economic survey

Interviewer/s .....Date .....
Greetings in the local language (Luo)

After some suitable small talk, the interviewer introduces the research; the interviewee reads the Information Sheet and signs the Consent Form, indicating whether his or her name can be revealed.

☐ Sauri Millennium Village ☐Homa Bay Village

Housing (interviewer fills in through observation; materials: stone, brick, mud, wood, fibre, twigs, other)

Roof: (mabati) .....Floors: (dier ot).....Walls: (Kor ot)……..

Doors: (dhoudi) .....Windows: (dirisni) .....

Separate cooking area: (Kar tedo mopogore?) …..☐Yes (Ee) ….☐No (Ooyo)

Separate washing area: (Kar luoko mopogore?) …..☐ Yes (Ee) …..☐No (Ooyo)

*Translation in Luo in GREY

Part I: Socio-economic Profile (Demographics, Income, Expenditures and Assets)

Demographic information of household members

Name of household head (HH) (Nying jatend ot/wuon ot) .....

Number of persons in the household (including the HH) (Kwan mar ji duto e ot) .....

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Name (Nyingi)							
Relationship to HH (Wat kindi gi wuon ot)							
Gender (In Nyako kata Wuoyi)							
Age (Hiki)							
Marital status (Kend mari)							
Main occupation (Tiji mitiyo)							
How long living in this house (Ise dak e odni e ndalo maromo nade?)							
Born in this village (Onyuoli e gweng' kae?)							

Key for relationship to the household:

1. Household head (Jaduong'/wuon/jatend ot).
2. Spouse (Dhako/min ot)
3. Son (Wuoyi/nyathi ma wuoyi)
4. Daughter (Nyako/nyathi ma nyako).
5. Son-in-law (Ori)
6. Daughter in-law (Maro)
7. Grandchild (Nyakwaro)
8. Other relative (Anyuola mamoko)
9. Single (Ng'at ma pod ok okendi)
10. Married (Ng'at ma okendi)
11. Divorced (Dhako/dichwo ma oweyo ng'ate)
12. Widow(er) (Chi liel, wuon liel)

A. Economic Capability: Household income (Yuto ma got/pacho) (To identify income capabilities of households and unemployment level)

1. How many persons in the household have income? (Ji adi ma ni e dala man gi yuto?)

	a. Name and relationship to HH (Nyingi gi kaka in anyuola gi wuon ot)	b. Currently has a job =1 (Bende in gi tich sani?) c. Looking for a job =2 (Imanyo tich?) d. Jobless =3 (Ionge tich)	e. What is the current type of job? (Tiji ma sani en mane)	f. Income per month? (Chudo mari e dew romo nade?) (KShs[32] 00): Range =1(<10); 2(11–30); 3(31–50); 4(51–60); 5(61–80)	g. Has your income increased/decreased in the last 5 years? (Be yuto ni ose medore e higni abich mokalo?)			
1					Increased	%	Decreased	%
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

2. Is there any second source of income? (Bende in gi yuto/tich mar ariyo?)

	a. Name and relationship to HH (Nyigi gi kaka in anyuola gi wuon ot)	b. What type of work? (In gi tich mane?)	c. How long has he/she worked? Year/months (Ose tiyo e ndalo maromo nade?)	d. How much is the income (Yuto ne romo nade?)	e. Has your income increased/decreased in the last 5 years? (Be yuto ni ose medore e higni abich mokalo?)			
					Increased	%	Decreased	%
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								

1 US$ = Kshs 80.00 (approx.), May 2010

Source of Income

1=Salaried (Professional, Government, NGO) with full-time, regular pay
2=Casual on-farm labour
3=Casual off-farm labour
4=Renting out of land
5= Bicycle repair/mechanic
6= Boda Boda (motor cycle Taxi service)
7= Brewing
8= Brick making
9= Butcher
10= Carpentry
11= Charcoal burning
12= Clothes business (trading)
13= Construction
14= Driver
15= General-kiosk owner
16= Miller
17= Trading fish
18= Trading livestock
19= Trading firewood
20= Trading timber (also add poles, fruits, medicinal products)
21= Trading non-food goods
22= Tailor (outside home)
23= Transport business
24= Trading farm produce
25= Midwifery
26=Tailor (home)
27=Basket weaving
28=Pottery
29=Jam/other food processing
30=Knitting
31=Hairdressing
32=Poultry business
33=Remittances
34=Other (home-based)
Specify…….....
35=Other (off-farm)
Specify…….....

B. Economic Capability: Household expenditures (Chudo ma pacho/ot) (To identify the fulfilment of the basic needs of the poor villagers) (ranyisi mar ng'iyo ka jo gweng' ma odhier ni gi yuto mar gik ot)

3.1 Expenditure: food/drinks		Shs per month	Have the prices increased/decreased in the last 5 years?			
			Increased	%	Decreased	%
1	Main food (maize, rice, flour, etc.) (Chiemo maduong')					
2	Fish (rech)					
3	Meats (ring'o)					
4	Eggs (tong')					
5	Milk (chak)					
6	Vegetables (alode)					
7	Fruits (olembe)					
8	Nuts (njugu)					
9	Cooking oil and margarine (modhi mag tedo kod wiro makati)					
10	Salt, spices (chumbi kod gige moko mag tedo)					
11	Water (pi)					
12	Soft drinks (soda gi amadha ma moko)					
13	Alcoholic beverages (kong'o)					
14	Tobacco, cigarettes (ndawa)					

15	Any other consumptions (gige ma moko ma itiyo go ka chiemo kata math)					
	TOTAL of 1 to 15		AVERAGE		AVERAGE	

3.2 Expenditure: non-food items		Shs per Month (kar pesa ma itiyo go e dwe)	Have the prices increased/decreased in the last 5 years? (Be chudo ose medore e higni abich mokalo?)			
			Increased	%	Decreased	%
1	Firewood (yiend chweko/tedo)					
2	Charcoal (makaa)					
3	Kerosene (mafuta taya)					
4	Cooking fuels others (crop residue, sawdust, LPG, etc.) (Gige moko mege chweko, ka owuoyo)					
5	Disposable, non-rechargeable dry cells (betri mar redio)					
6	Battery charging (betri mar mtoka)					
7	Electricity (grid, connection to a neighbour, etc.) (stima)					
8	Transportation (chudo mar mtoka)					
9	Clothing (school uniforms and sports kits) (Nanga)					
10	Soap/detergent (sabuni)					
11	Home repairs and maintenance (bicycle and vehicle repairs, etc.) (chudo mag loso gik ot mokethore, kaka ndiga gi mamoko)					
12	School fees (chudo mar skul)					
13	School uniforms and sports kits (Nengni mag skul, gi mag tuke)					
14	Textbooks and other school items (buge skul gi gik skul mamoko)					
15	Health, doctors, drugs and medical supplies (osiptal, daktari, yath)					
16	Hair dressing/cut (loso yie wich)					
17	House rent (chudo mar ot)					
18	Telephone, email, etc. (chudo mar simu/ong'ue yamo)					
19	Agriculture, fertilisers, etc. (puodho gi mbolea)					
20	Household asserts, furniture, radio, TV, lights, kitchenette (gik ot,					

	kombe, mesa, redio, television, mach, gik jikon)					
22	Local organisations, church, etc. (buche, gi wach lemo/kanisa)					
23	Loans (lon mar pesa/bank)					
	TOTAL of 1–23		AVERAGE		AVERAGE	

Average expenditure per month = Total of 3.1 + 3.2

C. Economic Capability: Household assets (gik ot/pacho)

	Do you own the following? (tick if yes) (be in gi gigi?)	If yes, number owned (ka in kodgi, gi adi?)
Furniture (gik ot mag bet, keno gin indo)		
1 Tables (mesa)		
2 Chairs (kombe)		
3 Bed (kitanada)		
4 Sofa (kom sofa)		
5 Wardrobe (kabat mar lewni)		
6 Stools (stul)		
7 Tableware/cutlery (sande mag chiemo)		
8 Cooking pots, kettle (sufria, guche mag tedo, brika)		
9 Linens (sheets, towels) (sit,taulo, ongeti)		
Appliances (gik ot, mag stima gi mamoko)		
10 Rechargeable battery (betri mar mtoka)		
11 Solar panel (sola)		
12 Battery torch (toch)		
13 Tin wick lamp (Taya mar nyangile)		
14 Hurricane lamp (taya mar chimni)		
15 Pressure lamp (taya mar optima)		
16 Normal electric light bulbs (stima)		
17 Fluorescent electric light bulbs (stima)		
18 Traditional charcoal stove (jiko)		
19 Charcoal improved stove (jiko ma ochwe)		
20 Improved woodstove (kendo yien ma ochwe)		
21 Gas (LPG) cooker (kendo mar muya)		
22 Kerosene wick stove (stove)		
23 Kerosene pressure stove (stove)		
24 Electric cooker (kendo mar stima)		
25 Electric teapot (brika mar stima)		
26 Bed net (net mar suna)		
27 Electric room warmer (jiko mar stima)		
28 Radio (nyakalondo)		
29 Tape recorder/cassette player (nyakalondo mar kaset)		
30 Television (television)		

	Do you own the following? (tick if yes) (be in gi gigi?)	If yes, number owned (ka in kodgi, gi adi?)
31 Sewing machine (charan)		
32 Loom		
33 Fan		
34 Cell phone (ong'ue yamo)		
35 Computer		
36 Refrigerator (frig)		
37 Iron box (pas)		
38 Clock (saa mar kor ot)		
39 Camera (picha)		
40 Bicycle (ndiga)		
41 Hand cart (mkokoten)		
42 Wheelbarrow (wilbaro)		
43 Animal-drawn cart (mkokoten mar punda/dhiang')		
44 Donkey (punda)		
45 Motorcycle (pikipiki)		
46 Tractor (tinga)		
47 Car (nyamburko)		
48 Pick-up (nyamburko)		
49 Mini-bus (mini bas)		
50 Lorry (lori)		
51 Well w/hand-drawn bucket (kisima)		
52 Hand pump to lift water (kisima)		
53 Spade (opao)		
54 Sickle (rang'ad lum)		
55 Slasher (ochwado)		
56 Rake (rek)		
57 Machete (beti)		
58 Axe (le)		
59 Animal-drawn plough (kwe dhok)		
60 Power saw (musmeno mar masin/ mafuta)		
Other (specify)…….(mamoko).....		
Other (specify)……. (mamoko).....		

Building (gedo)	Living (dak)	Cooking (tedo)	Storage (keno)	Toilet (choo)	Zero grazing (pidho dhok e dala)	Animal house (kul)	Rented (pango)	Rent per month (chud mar pango)
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								

D. Economic Capability: Household savings (keno mar ot)

During the past 12 months, has any member of the household saved any money? (E higa mokalo, be ng'ato ose kano pesa e od ni?) ☐ YES (eeh) ☐ NO (ooyo) If yes, please list (ka en kamano to go sei)						Amount Kshs (pesa adi)
1. Name (Nyigi)						
2. Name (Nyigi)						
3. Name (Nyigi)						
4. Name (Nyigi)						
5. Name (Nyigi)						
Does any member of the household have debts? (be nitie ng'to e ot kae man gi gowi) ☐ YES (eeh) ☐ NO (ooyo) If yes, please list (ka en kamano ndik nyinge gi mwalo kea)						
	Food (chiemo)	Education (somo)	Health (thieth)	Fixing house (gedo)	Others (ma moko)	
1 Name (Nyigi)						
2 Name (Nyigi)						
3 Name (Nyigi)						
4 Name (Nyigi)						
5 Name (Nyigi)						

E. Division of work (pogo tich)

	Wife (thako)	Husband (dichuo)	Daughter (nyako)	Son (wuoi)
Attending meetings (Bet e bura)				
Buying fertilisers (nyieo odumbi)				
Buying pesticides (nyieo yadh kute)				
Childcare (rito Nyathi)				
Church activities (tije kanisa)				
Cleaning animal shed (yueyo kul)				
Family cooking (tet mar anyuola)				
Fetching fuel wood (moto modo yien)				
Fetching water (tuomo pi)				
Fishing and goat farming (pith mar rech gidirk)				
Furrow irrigation (kunyo Oula)				
Growing vegetables (pidho a lot)				
Harvesting maize, banana, beans (keyo oduma, rabolu, oganda)				
Land preparation (iko puodho)				
Milking goat/cattle (nyiedho diel/dhok)				
Planting/sowing maize, beans, bananas, trees, fodder and weeding (komo oduma, oganda, rabolo, yien, gi doho)				
Ploughing (pur)				
Processing beans (iko oganda)				
Processing maize (iko oduma)				
Putting fertilisers (keto oduma)				
Road construction and maintenance (gero ndara gi rito)				
School activities (tije school)				
Selling beans (uso oganda)				
Selling livestock (uso jamni)				
Selling milk (uso chak)				
Spraying (kiro)				

Treating animals (thiedho le)				
Washing clothes (luoko leuni)				
Washing dishes (luoko sende)				

Questionnaire B: Evaluation of SMVP

Interviewer/s.....Date.....
Greetings in the local language (Luo)

After some suitable small talk, the interviewer introduces the research; the interviewee reads the Information Sheet and signs the Consent Form, indicating whether his/her name can be revealed.

☐ Sauri Millennium Village ☐Homa Bay Village Occupation of respondent.....

Have you experienced any poverty reduction-related programme/s before? (Be ise yudo puonj kata kony mora mora e yor geng'o dhier?)

☐Yes (eeh), ☐No (ooyo) if yes give details (Ka en kamano to wacha ane kaka punj kata kony neotimore)
……
……

Name of the organisation/s (see below) (Nying Kambi ma opunji, kat momiyi kony)
.....

Name of the programme/s (Puonj kata kony ma iyudo)
.....

Date started (Tarik ma puonj ne otimoere) .....Date completed (Tarik ma puonj ne orumo) .....

1. United Nations (Name of agency)
2. Millennium Villages Project
3. UNDP
4. UN-Habitat
5. World Bank
6. IMF
7. UNICEF
8. UNESCO
9. UNEP
10. UNIDO
11. IMF
12. Swedish Government
13. US Aid
14. Norwegian Government
15. Finnish Government
16. Kenyan Government
17. NGO (Name)
18. Other.....

What types of interventions have been implemented in your village? (Puonj kata kony mage ma okel e gweng'i?)
……
……
……

How has MDGs intervention in your village managed to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, from your perspectives? (Wach ane Kaka chike mag Millenia ose konyo riembo dhier gi kech e gweng'I)
……
.....

G1. Extreme poverty and hunger (Kech gi Dhier): In the last 10 years, do you think poverty has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka dhier odok chien kata omedore?)
……
……
……

2. Primary education (Somo mar Primari): In the last 10 years, do you think education has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka Nyithindo masomo e Primari odok chien kata omedore?)
……
……
……

3. Gender equality and the empowerment of women (Weche Mon, gi telo kor Mon): In the last 10 years, do you think gender equality and the empowerment of women has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka Weche Mon kor ka dongruok gi telo odok chien kata omedore?)
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4. Child mortality (Tho mar Nyithindo matindo): In the last 10 years, do you think child mortality has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka Tho mar nyithindo odok chien kata omedore?)
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5. Maternal health (Thieth/tuoche mag Mine): In the last 10 years, do you think you maternal health has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka Thieth/touché mag mine dok chien kata medore?)
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6. HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (AYAKI, malaria gi touché mamoko): In the last 10 years, do you think HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka AYAKI, malaria gi touché ma moko dok chien kata medore?)
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7. Environmental sustainability (Wach rito aluora piny, mazingira): In the last 10 years, do you think environmental sustainability has decreased or increased and why? (E higni 10 mokalo, be ineno ka Aluora piny/mazingira medo kethore kata medo losore?)
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8. Which member of your family is responsible for collecting water (En ng'a ma umbo pi e ot kae?)…….
Source (Uumbo pi kanye?) .....How often (utuomo pi didi e odiechieng'?) .....Estimated Distance (Utuomo pi ebor maromo nade?).....Time spent (Ukao saa maromo nade ka udhi umbo?).....

9. Which member of your family is responsible for collecting fuel wood (En ng'a madhi ma dhi ga modo yiend tedo?)
.....
Source (Umodo yien kanye?) .....How often (Umoto didi e odiechieng'?) .....
Estimated Distance (Umoto mabor maromo nade?) .....Time spent (Ukao saa maromo nade sama udhi moto?) …..

10. What are the problems that you face? (Tabu mage ma uyudo e gweng' kae?)
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11. What are your needs? (Dwachi chalo nade?)
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12. Is MDGs intervention a beneficial model for the village? (Be puonj mag Millenia chiwo kony kata ranyisi e gweng' kae?)
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13. How effective have the interventions been? (Wach ane kaka puonj mag Millenia osekelo kony e gweng' kae?)
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14. What are the lessons learned? (Puonj mage ma use yudo?)
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15. Are there any alternatives? (Be nitie puonj mora mora ma opogore gi mag Millenia ma bende kelo kony e gweng' kae?)
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16. Who should I turn to, to learn more about this topic? (En nga manade manyalo konya gi puonj e weche ma openj e otas ni?)
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Closing the interview

1. How did you feel about this interview? (Be penjo gi omori, kata okechi?) Is there anything else you would like to say? (Be di bed gi wach moro ma didwar medo?)

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2. Repeat assurance of confidentiality, summarise the gist of the interview and offer sincere thanks